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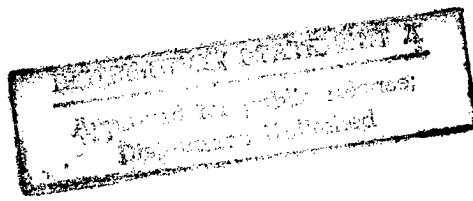
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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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25 APRIL 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

China's Relationship With ASEAN Countries Viewed (Cheng Ch'ih-yen; CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI, No 193, Feb 86).....	1
<b>Briefs</b>	
Hanoi Allows Small Private Businesses	10

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Erring Kin of CPC Officials Executed, Jailed (Lu Jingren; MING PAO, 12 Feb 86).....	11
Trend of China's Agricultural Labor Force Shift Discussed (Xu Tianqi, Ye Zhendong; RENKOU YANJIU, No 5, 29 Sep 85)...	13
Political Prospects for China After Deng Viewed (Lang Lang; CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI, No 193, Feb 86).....	22
Deng Xiaoping's Revolutionary Career in Chronology (CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI, No 193, Feb 86).....	33
Career of New Deputy Chief of Staff Xu Huizi Discussed (Tang Zongxia; CHING PAO, No 103, Feb 86).....	36

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### EAST REGION

Ma Hong on Ideological Work in Planned Commodity Economy (Ma Hong; JIEFANG RIBAO, 15 Jan 86).....	39
Importance of Leisure Time Activities Discussed (Wu Ziniu; SHEHUI, No 4, 20 Aug 85).....	46
Crime in Shenzhen, Zhuhai Discussed (Li Dongming; SHEHUI, No 4, 20 Aug 85).....	48
Cultural Harmony in Opening Up to Outside Areas (Pan Jianxiong; SHEHUI, No 6, 20 Dec 85).....	55
Diminished Influence of Shanghai Literary Circle Discussed (Jun Zhaizi; WENHUI BAO, 14 Sep 85).....	57
New Political Education System at Jiaotong University (Zhang Ziqiang; WENHUI BAO, 9 Oct 85).....	59
Wang Huning Promoted to Associate Professor (Zhang Chengjun; WENHUI BAO, 6 Oct 85).....	61
<b>Briefs</b>	
CPC Meeting Held for Nonparty Personages	63

### CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

Liu Zhengwei Speaks at Religious Work Conference (Henan Provincial Service, 27 Mar 86).....	64
Lin-Ruo Calls for Better Party Newspaper Distribution Work (Ceng Huicun; NANFANG RIBAO, 12 Nov 85).....	65
Paper Publishes Guidelines for Building CPC Organs (Liu Shifeng; HUBEI RIBAO, 8 Nov 85).....	67
Criteria Set for CPC Secretaries in Enterprises (Wang Yongchang; HUBEI RIBAO, 8 Nov 85).....	69
Henan Meeting Urges Improved Township Rectification (Henan Provincial Service, 28 Mar 86).....	71
Hunan Radio Urges Curbing Superstitious Activities (Hunan Provincial Service, 30 Mar 86).....	72
Changxi Improves Minority Nationality Work (Guangxi Regional Service, 29 Mar 86).....	74

Guangdong To Deal With Travel Agencies' Illegal Activities (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE, 28 Mar 86).....	76
Hainan Political, Legal Work Conference Ends (Hainan Island Service, 28 Mar 86).....	78
Hubei Radio Commentary on Party Rectification (Hubei Provincial Service, 26 Mar 86).....	79
Commentary Urges Units Not To Take Teachers From Schools (NANFANG RIBAO, 28 Sep 85).....	80
Transferring Teachers To Nonteaching Posts Prohibited (Shen Yimi; NANFANG RIBAO, 30 Sep 85).....	81
Japanese Bean Curd Packaging Machine Importation Criticized (He Zhi; GUANGZHOU RIBAO, 15 Nov 85).....	83
<b>Briefs</b>	
Younger, Educated Women Cadres Encouraged	85
Doctorate Degrees Awarded	85
Xie Fei Speaks at Rally	85

#### NORTH REGION

Hebei Establishes Four County-Level Cities (HEBEI RIBAO, 14 Mar 86).....	86
Nei Monggol Commentary Stresses Deepening of Reform (Nei Monggol Regional Service, 28 Mar 86).....	87
Nei Monggol Taiwan Compatriots Federation Holds Meeting (Nei Monggol Regional Service, 29 Mar 86).....	89
Shanxi Rural Areas Encouraged by Central Document (Shanxi Provincial Service, 31 Mar 86).....	90

#### TAIWAN

Taiwanese in Brazil Prison Admits Killing Henry Liu (AFP, 4 Apr 86).....	91
Taiwan-Japan Seminar on Mainland Affairs Opens (CNA, 7 Apr 86).....	92
<b>Briefs</b>	
Computerized System Established	93
New Vice Defense Minister	93

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

CHINA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES VIEWED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES MONTHLY] in Chinese No 193, Feb 86  
pp 20-23

[Article by Cheng Ch'ih-yen [6774 6375 8827]: "New Developments in China's Relationship with ASEAN"]

[Excerpts] China's guiding ideology has switched from "political struggle" to "economic construction," spurring Southeast Asian countries to make corresponding changes.

Editor's note: Dr Cheng Ch'ih-yen is a lecturer in the Department of Politics and Administration in Hong Kong's Chinese University, and he specializes in the study of Southeast Asian politics.

If China's policy of opening to the outside world continues, it may be affirmed that the continuation will be something that all countries of Southeast Asia, especially the six ASEAN countries, will be happy to see.

The so-called "policy of opening to the outside world" means, with economic development as the main goal, to open up economically to the outside world and to assimilate from abroad funds, technologies, and economic management; and to coordinate them to enliven its domestic economy, gradually using some capitalist methods in handling questions of markets, administration, financial affairs, talented persons, and the legal system, so as to break free from the restraints of all sorts of restrictions in the past.

Taking a Wait-and-See Attitude Toward the "Policy of Opening to the Outside World"

China's switch from the line of "taking class struggle as the key link" to the line of making development of the economy primary and coordinating it with the policy of opening to the outside world has really had a very big effect on all countries of Southeast Asia, and has also spurred these countries to react to China's new line.

This is because China's past line of "taking class struggle as the key link" not only caused uninterrupted political struggle within China, but also posed a threat to Southeast Asian countries, especially to the anticommunist and

noncommunist countries. Because these countries also have communist organizations under the influence of China's revolutionary ideology, these communist organizations for a time, with the support of the Chinese communists, launched attacks against the regimes of these countries. For a time before and after 1967, they caused ferment in Hong Kong, Kampuchea, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, and Thailand. As a result, the relationship of these countries with the Chinese communists fell to an unprecedented low ebb.

Since the Chinese communists are now changing their guiding ideology from "political struggle" to "economic construction," this switch naturally will gradually change the Chinese communists' relationship with all Southeast Asian countries from hostility to "harmony." For these countries, to say that engaging in "economic construction" was their choice is not as good as saying that they had no other choice. Taking Singapore for example, when Britain withdrew from it the People's Action Party led by Lee Kuan Yew was originally quite keen on "political struggle," and before coming to power the goal of the People's Action Party movement was to overthrow colonialism and establish an antiimperialist socialist country. However, after the People's Action Party came to power, the actual situation made Lee Kuan Yew realize that if he made Singapore a socialist country, even a communist revolutionary base, he would immediately turn Singapore into a lifeless port. This is because the adjacent conservative and feudal forces, the anticomunist forces, and the West's capitalist forces would rush headlong into mass action, and they had the capability of putting Singapore into a death trap, the prospects for which would really be hard to imagine. Therefore, the People's Action Party had to choose the approach of "economic construction" and to gradually build an economic working center.

The other new and developing countries that have broken away from colonies also faced the same fate as Singapore. If they engaged in "political struggle" they would certainly be drawn into an endless political whirlpool. Especially, the complex combination of many nationalities, the differences among various religions, the estrangement of language and culture, the polarization in economic possession (not only the polarization between the have's and have not's, but also the polarization between those who possess internal power and those who possess external power), and so forth would cause great vibrations.

Having past experiences, when the majority of the Southeast Asian countries suddenly heard of the initial stage of China's policy of opening to the outside world, they half believed and half doubted it. Only recently, when they saw that the policy did not stop with the special economic zones, but extended to all big coastal cities and even into the interior, did they begin to change their views. For them, first, China's economic resources could be coordinated and used with their own economic resources. Based on this consideration, in their minds China has also changed from "terrifying" to "approachable."

## Effect of Policy During Period of Colonial Rule

Although the interests of Western forces in Southeast Asia have always been both political and economic, the last stage of the history of the colonies proved that the practice of always making economic interests the guiding idea was fairly smooth and successful, and had more advantages than disadvantages to both the colonizers and the colonized. Conversely, the practice of making political interests the guiding idea had more disadvantages than advantages.

Since the seventies, the economic strategy of America and the Western bloc in Southeast Asia has been quite successful, causing four "small dragons" to appear in this region. The economies of the ASEAN countries have grown rapidly, and the life of their peoples has been greatly improved. This achievement has also inhibited the expectation of the military factions in the communist parties that there will be violent revolution, making them see that social reform does not necessarily come through the channel of violence. For example, Vietnam's brutal practices in the late seventies were not only assailed by the majority of countries in the world, but were even criticized by many communists. It was not fortuitous that an economic faction like that of Deng Xiaoping was able to appear in China. With the situation in this region of the universal promotion of economic prosperity and with the Western powers headed by America no longer stressing military confrontation, the Deng Xiaoping faction was able to gain ground. After Deng Xiaoping's line appeared in China, the Western camp headed by the United States further affirmed the strategic effect caused by Deng's line of "developing the economy, and in the new situation in which the line of action of developing the economy tallied with the Chinese and Western sides, cooperation (or a thaw) was also furthered.

## China-Singapore Relations: Lee Kuan Yew's Visit to China Makes Breakthrough

A new situation that has appeared is that relations between Singapore and China are getting closer day by day. Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's recent visit to China indicated that trade relations between China and Singapore are further developing. Singapore is providing China with experience in management and even technologies, and its investments in China are also growing. Lee Kuan Yew has even pointed out that China's market could be a prescription for curing the current economic recession in Singapore.

Closely following Lee Kuan Yew's visit, Minister Lee Hsien Loong led an industrial-commercial delegation on a visit to China to carry out the work of implementation. Dr Goh Keng Swee, an economic expert and for many years the minister of finance and deputy prime minister, has even accepted China's invitation to be an adviser to its special economic zones. In addition, contacts between the peoples of China and Singapore are much more open than they were, and Singapore citizens can now freely tour China. This is the first opening up since Singapore became an independent country, and it is obvious that although China and Singapore have not yet formally established diplomatic relations there has already been a thaw in their substantive relations. Because of its relations with Chinese people, in order to avoid being thought pro-Chinese and thus stirring up political susceptibilities, Singapore in the past always especially guarded against getting close to China

and maintained a certain distance with it. The close contacts of last year show that the misgivings about China on the part of the entire Southeast Asian region have been greatly reduced.

#### China-Malaysia Relations: Understanding Reached on Question of Malaysian Communists

Following Lee Kuan Yew's visit, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir last year also led a large industrial-commercial delegation to China. Before he left for that country, the general estimate was that the political problem existing between China and Malaysia, namely, the problem of the relationship between the Chinese communists and the Malaysian communists, still, as in the past, was an obstacle to the improvement of relations between the two sides. However, according to what was indicated by Prime Minister Mahathir's statement in Beijing, his government seems to have accepted the Chinese communists' position on, and attitude toward, the Malaysian communists, and it believes that the Chinese communists will not, because of principle, support the Malaysian communists and interfere by action in Malaysia's internal affairs. That is to say, the Malaysian government believes that the relationship of principle between the Chinese communists and the Malaysian communists no longer poses a threat to Malaysia. Once this deadlock was broken, the two sides reached agreement in their talks to have closer trade relations. The Chinese side indicated that it welcomed investments in China by Malaysian industrial and commercial circles. The Malaysian government indicated that China and Malaysia should strengthen direct trade with each other and not go through a third country, and that non-Chinese businessmen should be treated equally without discrimination. This visit to China by Mahathir was his first after becoming prime minister. It is believed that it was the most important of the visits to China by three prime ministers (the first was by Tun Abdul Razak and the second by Dato Hussein bin Onn), because favorable climatic, geographical, and human conditions made him the optimum choice for solving problems between China and Malaysia. On the surface, he seems to have been quite successful.

Another favorable condition facilitating the further improvement of China-Malaysia relations is that the National Front led by Mahathir has recently begun to face pressure from the Islamic Party. Waving the banner of resurgent Islam, the Islamic Party draws support from youths in many backward areas and even cities. Last year, in a byelection in Kedah State, the Islamic Party got surprisingly powerful support in a district where the National Front was strong. If the two Chinese parties, the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Democratic Action Party, had not supported the National Front, the National Front candidate would certainly have been beaten. This warning signal made Mahathir very worried, because in almost a third of the electoral districts in the country, he depends on the votes of the Chinese to guarantee that the districts will not be lost to the Islamic Party or another opposition party. Because of this consideration, it became necessary domestically to strengthen relations between the National Front (the Malay people's political party) and the two Chinese parties--the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Democratic Action Party--and necessary externally to promote economic relations with China in order to win the support of Chinese industrial and commercial circles.

### China-Thailand Relations: Vietnam Is an Important Factor

With regard to Thailand, because Vietnam had time and again crossed the border into Thailand to get at troops resisting Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, killing Thai soldiers and civilians, and because in the past 2 years there have been signs of a gradual escalation of military actions against Thailand, Thailand regards Vietnam as its most dangerous enemy. To save itself from this threat, for the last 6 or 7 years Thailand has relied on China's promise to contain Vietnam. China has time and again given Thailand the assurance that if Vietnam truly invades Thailand China will launch a second punitive action against Vietnam, and that this is its political objective. Because Vietnam is continuing to expand its war zone, and also because the wider the front that it faces enemies the more it is unable to extricate itself, and the more it needs to rely on the Soviet Union, there is the possibility that it will draw the Soviet Union directly into a Southeast Asia war. Under these circumstances, the Soviet Union and Vietnam would gain a country and China would lose a country. If this comes to pass, won't the southern part of China be surrounded once again? In the interests of the two sides, China's protection of Thailand has become a necessary "chess move."

In military affairs there is this relationship of mutual advantage, and for 6 or 7 years China and Thailand have made a lot of progress in economic affairs. Thailand, through its airline Thai Airways, was the first country in ASEAN to open air routes with China. Most of the people of Chinese descent in Thailand are people from Chaozhou [in Guangdong Province], and their economic forces are the most abundant. In recent years, they have gone to China and made investments there, or have donated money to help the people of Chaozhou to run public welfare and educational undertakings. This trend is increasing.

In the political field, the Thai communists were originally an obstruction to Chinese-Thai relations, but after Vietnam attacked Kampuchea and controlled Laos, the Thai communist bases in Laos and on the Kampuchean border were destroyed. In addition, the Thai communists have always been friendly with the Chinese communists, and now since the Thai government and Vietnam have become enemies, and the Chinese communists have made war on Vietnam, the Chinese communists have had to appeal to the Thai communists to turn their guns around and with the government jointly resist Vietnam. The Thai government was also ready to receive the Thai communists who come out of the forests and not investigate them. Under these circumstances, the Thai communists are at a low ebb. Many of them have abandoned their antigovernment activities. Therefore, a further understanding has been gained in Chinese-Thai relations.

### China-Indonesia Relations: Direct Trade Brings Turn for Better

On the Indonesian side, because the Chinese communists were censured by Indonesia for being involved in the traitorous activities of the Indonesian communists within the country in 1965, since 1967 relations between the two countries have been suspended and have always been at a low ebb. When China punished Vietnam, Indonesia was the first country in the region to consider China's military action most threatening, and it stressed that China was more

dangerous than Vietnam. At the same time, Indonesia for a time took the initiative to escalate its relations with Taiwan (for example, Sun Yun-hsuan visited Indonesia and paid his respects to President Soeharto). These actions simply indicated that Indonesia was resisting the trend just appearing in the region for a thaw with China. On the Chinese side, although it encountered this stony face of Indonesia's, it again and again swallowed insults and patiently did diplomatic work on Indonesia. As expected, this painstaking effort was not wasted, and China and Indonesia finally made contact at the grand meeting held last year to commemorate the Bandung Conference. China received an invitation to it and sent Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian [0702 1331 6197]. Afterward, Indonesia sent a trade delegation to China, indicating that first there would be a beginning of "direct trade," after which steps would gradually be taken to improve political and diplomatic relations.

Looking at the repeated contacts through Hong Kong over the last 3 years by Chinese and Indonesian diplomatic personnel, the main obstacle to the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia seems to be the serious misgivings still harbored by the Indonesian military about the Chinese communists. Because in 1965 the Indonesian Communist Party in a coup d'etat killed the seven highest-ranking Indonesian military leaders, and the military suspects that China had a hand in this coup, this has become a strong reason for the military's opposition to the restoration of diplomatic relations. Because the military has a lot of real party and political power, I fear that it will not be easy to restore diplomatic relations very soon. But a point worth considering is that the Indonesian military leaders, in both politics and all fields of economic affairs, occupy important leading positions. The present situation in which the economy is at a low ebb also causes these military leaders many head-splitting problems. Against this background, it is very possible that the development of relations of "direct trade" will be taken a step further and that a breakthrough into restoration of political relations will be effected.

#### China-Philippine Relations: Improving Following Improvement in Sino-U.S. Relations

On the Philippine side, since "Nixon's China diplomacy" began in the seventies, the Philippines, which has always followed America's lead, has switched from an attitude of hostility toward the Chinese communists to an attitude of friendship, and in the past several years relations between China and the Philippines have improved. The Marcos regime's attitude toward persons of Chinese descent in the country is reckoned to be one of the most enlightened among the Southeast Asian countries. Diplomatic relations between China and the Philippines have also become harmonious. Particularly on the question of the Indochina crisis, as well as the position on the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and even India, they march in step. In Southeast Asia, China, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore have become the most unified force for resisting Vietnam. For this reason, the position of resisting Vietnam taken by all of ASEAN has not changed from first to last.

The problem of the Philippine communists also does not constitute an obstacle to the development of China-Philippine relations. Although during the Cultural Revolution it was once rumored that the relations between the

Philippine communists and the Chinese communists were close, the Chinese communists' support of the Philippine communists could never be considered a big threat. This is probably because the Philippine communist forces are comparatively weak, and, at the same time, unlike the Thai communists and the Malaysian communists, the Philippine communists are not mainly composed of persons of Chinese descent. But I believe the biggest reason is that, because the Philippines and the communist countries are not land neighbors, coupled with the protection provided by American military bases, it is not easy for the Philippines to be infiltrated.

Recently the Philippines' internal affairs have been rather unstable. Since Aquino was murdered, public opinion has put a lot of pressure on the Marcos regime, forcing President Marcos to end rule by martial law and reopen presidential election campaigns. The presidential election now underway is a big test of whether Marcos will be able to continue in power. Although it is generally believed that because of Marcos' tight control of the political situation it is not very probable that he lose the election, because the Philippines' political culture has a strong coloring of Spanish hero worship, Aquino's heroic image has many admirers. Even if Marcos does not lose, the results of this election will give him a very big shock. What China worries about (and perhaps what America also worries about) is the appearance of pro-Soviet forces when Philippine internal affairs are unstable, and with the Soviet Union recently ogling the Philippine regime, whether, when that time comes, there will be a chaotic political situation in the Philippines.

In addition, because the Philippines' industry and commerce are not very developed, there is nothing that it provides China with in the way of science, technology, and management techniques, unlike Singapore. Therefore, for the time being China's policy of opening to the outside world still does not cause as enthusiastic a reaction in the Philippines as it does in other ASEAN countries. The successes in promoting the relations between the two countries by depending on the "policy of opening to the outside world" have also not been all that remarkable.

#### Negative Factors in China's Strengthening of Relations With ASEAN

Besides these positive developments, there are also negative dangers in China's strengthening of relations with the ASEAN countries. If these negative factors are handled poorly, China's relations with the Southeast Asian region will be full of brambles and thorns. China has expressed strong opposition to Vietnam's behavior. After the first punitive action, it seems like every year when it is time for Vietnam to launch a dry-season offensive on the Kampuchean and Thai borders, China exerts military pressure on Vietnam. In addition, Vietnam is unable to quickly settle the matter of the forces in Kampuchea resisting it, and the scars in China-Vietnam relations recur seasonally. It is disadvantageous to China for this situation to be dragged out. Because the Soviet Union and Vietnam can wait for a long time for their opportunity in Southeast Asia, if instability occurs in any of the countries, the Soviet Union and Vietnam will combine to support it.

Although China's policy toward Vietnam is gradually developing from the military level to the political level, and to a considerable degree it also

agrees with the proposal of some ASEAN member countries to solve the Indochina problem with a political plan, namely, to abandon the strategy of punishing Vietnam militarily and agree to initiate political talks with Vietnam on questions such as withdrawing its troops and not encroaching on Thailand, whether a military policy or a political policy will be adopted toward Vietnam depends, in the final analysis, on Vietnam's cooperative attitude. If Vietnam does not cooperate and wilfully insists on militarily routing the forces resisting it, and even violates Thailand's sovereignty, it will be hard to insure that the situation will not again develop into military conflict. However, under the present circumstances in which there is no country willing to fight a big war with the Soviet Union and Vietnam, it is hard for ASEAN and for China and the United States to avoid suffering a loss at the hands of the Soviet Union and Vietnam. This is a consideration that China, the United States, and ASEAN cannot overlook.

However, turning around what has been said, the military expansionism of the Soviet Union and Vietnam also gives China some advantages. First, it gives China an opportunity to show that her actions are different from the acts of encroachment by the Soviet Union and Vietnam, making many leaders in Southeast Asia believe that China has truly decided to engage in economic affairs and will no longer engage in military and political adventures. Second, it gives China an opportunity to improve her relations with some ASEAN countries, thus promoting her cooperation and understanding with Western countries, especially the United States, on Southeast Asia questions.

The second negative factor is the application of China's policy on overseas Chinese affairs. Developments in this respect have been both good and bad. Although from the beginnings of the fifties China has publicly expressed its encouragement for overseas Chinese identifying with the inhabitants of the country in which they reside, and registering as citizens, because of problems left over from history things have not been so simple. In addition, the instability of the governments of these countries has caused unstable phenomena leading to repeated anti-Chinese movements that have driven out large numbers of overseas Chinese. Before the dust settled on the question of the nationality and identity of these refugees of Chinese descent, China could not remain aloof and detached on the question of protecting overseas Chinese. Therefore, Beijing, in 1965 in Indonesia and in 1979 in Vietnam, took actions to protect overseas Chinese. This question has also made Beijing vacillate in its policy on overseas Chinese affairs. A clear example of this is Indonesia's attitude toward China over the past several years. The Indonesian government has even declared that while the problem of the citizenship of its people of Chinese descent remains unsolved, it is not prepared to restore diplomatic relations with the Chinese communists. Its reason is that it fears that this problem will again cause a dispute between China and Indonesia. A similar sensitive problem exists at the same time in other ASEAN countries.

The third negative factor is the relationship between the Chinese communists and the other communist parties in Southeast Asia. Although the Chinese communists have repeatedly declared that they will only maintain, from now on, a relationship of principle with these communist parties, and will no longer support them in substance and materiel, and also will not, because of the actions of these communist parties, get involved or interfere in the internal

affairs of these countries, there are those who believe this declaration and also those who do not. Those who believe it think that the recent action by a large number of Thai communists in abandoning their weapons and stopping their revolt against the government was an effect caused by the Chinese communists' appeal to the Thai communists. Most of those who do not believe it base themselves on past experience, and point out that in the mid-sixties the Chinese communists supported the traitorous acts by the communist parties in the Southeast Asian region, and this is a fact that the Beijing leaders cannot deny. The only thing that is forgiveable is that the ultraleft line appeared at that time within the Chinese communists, and a large number of veteran cadres fell victim to it, so the Chinese communists' explanation is that this situation, because an end has been put to the ultraleft line, will not recur. But this explanation must be proven right by time. Within a short period of time, it is very hard for people to abandon their vigilance, because who would dare to guarantee that the Chinese communists would never again return to the ultraleft line!

#### The Western Powers' Thaw With China

Looking at the abovementioned analysis, we can come to one conclusion: China's policy of opening to the outside world has made the Western powers headed by America believe that from now on China will take the path of building the country economically. Because economic prosperity will bring political stability and reduce turmoil, in order to encourage China to continue on this path, the Western powers have initiated a thaw with China in Southeast Asia. By this practice America can, first, lighten the heavy economic responsibilities it bears, for example the burdens of foreign aid, capital aid, the opening up of American markets, and preferential taxes. Second, by this means it can provide the Southeast Asian countries with new economic outlets. Third, it can draw Japan and the four other "small dragons," because of their vigorous economic development, toward China, because China's backwardness is more suitable for economic cooperation with these countries and this region, and America and the West do not need this gradually heating-up vigor.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

HANOI ALLOWS SMALL PRIVATE BUSINESSES--Hanoi, April 2 (XINHUA)--The Hanoi municipal government today decreed that small private businesses and handicraft industries will be allowed under a new government policy. According to local press reports, the policy states that private enterprises employing no more than five workers will enjoy "legal protection and government support" on condition of legal management. Hanoi is the second city to allow citizens to run those businesses, following Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam's largest city. Reports indicate the decision was made because Vietnam has been strained by financial deficits, price hikes, wage problem and low living standard ever since the government instituted wage, commodity price and currency reforms last year. Informed sources said the new measure will be extended across the country later. Observers here believe that by allowing small private business Hanoi authorities are having to give up their traditional viewpoints and ways to alleviate the worsening national economy. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1540 GMT 2 Apr 86 OW] /8918

CSO: 4000/212

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ERRING KIN OF CPC OFFICIALS EXECUTED, JAILED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 12 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by Lu Jingren [0712 0079 0088]: "Kill 1 To Teach 100"]

[Text] Xian tourist guide Duan Xiaohua [3008 1420 5478], who posed as a Japanese national to steal things from foreigners at some guest houses and hotels in Xian and Beijing, was executed recently, thus ending his young life. He was 23.

Duan Xiaohua's evil doings were notorious and deserving of punishments. Besides, the people he stole from were "foreigners," thus making his crimes all the more unpardonable. The news announcement about Duan Xiaohua's execution at the approach of the traditional Spring Festival was intended to reflect Hu Qili's [5170 0796 4539] directive to "kill 1 to teach 100" a lesson so as to enhance the safety coefficient during the festival. In the meantime, following the usual practice over the years, a large number of announcements on court verdicts were posted in streets and lanes on the eve of the festival this year, which attracted countless pedestrians. Judging from the names listed in the announcements, most of the criminals were rural youths convicted principally of committing rape (especially of young girls) and murder. Their cruel acts made people's blood boil. The Duan Xiaohua case must be exceptional since so far there has been no mention from the announcements about a death sentence for stealing.

It was reported earlier that Deng Xiaoping, who was bitter about such corrupt happenings in society, criticized General Secretary Hu Yaobang as being too weak and soft and instructed that a number of people such as brothel owners, persons engaged in white slavery, lechers, and big swindlers should be executed so as to receive the punishment they rightly deserved. As I remember, Deng Xiaoping also gave similar instructions 2 years ago, which were translated into united action throughout the country overnight. The deterrent force from the first few rounds was so overwhelming that the evildoers were compelled to restrain themselves. But as soon as the momentum diminished, these rats and snakes resurrected again, eventually leading to the resumption of the death sentence.

"News of victory kept pouring in" day after day. The current situation has become a topic of conversation among the people over a cup of tea or after a few glasses of wine. The news from the "sidewalk news agency" that spread

quite far and wide is: (1) General Xu Shiyu's [6079 0013 0645] widow has been thrown into prison; (2) Peng Zhen's [1756 4176] son is behind prison bars; (3) former vice mayor of Beijing Municipality Wang Chun [3769 4783] is a "fierce tiger" whose crimes will soon be published in newspapers; (4) Zhao Pengfei [6392 7720 7378], chairman of the standing committee of the Beijing municipal people's congress, has been incarcerated.

Gen Xu Shiyu was a Zhao Zilong who is absolutely fearless. At the time when the gang of four wreaked havoc, his threat to storm the capital city and kill all the traitors won the hearts of the people. He died in Nanjing last year but left a will instructing his family members to ship his remains back to his native place in Henan for interment, which was in violation of Mao Zedong's call that a communist who died should be cremated. Having no other alternative, the authorities had to concur. It is quite natural for things to turn out this way now that the man is dead and his power vanished and his widow is down on her luck.

Peng Zhen is a congress chairman who also is in charge of legislative affairs. But his son is not exactly a chip off the old block, so naturally everybody is talking about him. According to Peng Zhen's explanation: "His doings do not concern me, I have had nothing to do with him for a long time."

That Vice Mayor Wang Chun was called a "fierce tiger" is because the key indictments against him were that he allegedly accepted bribes and that he was the kingpin of a local despotic network. It is believed that the official announcement will soon reveal what actually was involved.

Zhao Pengfei is the chairman of the Beijing municipal congress, and charges against him have not yet been heard.

In light of the nature of their guilt, these personalities perhaps are no less guilty than Duan Xiaohua. It is therefore justifiable to call them "traitors." The only thing we do not know is whether or not they are qualified to be sent to the guillotine. This is a special case for the people to test whether or not the Chinese Communist authorities practice what they preach and "tell the truth." Let's wait and see for the time being.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TREND OF CHINA'S AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE SHIFT DISCUSSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU /POPULATION RESEARCH/ in Chinese No 5, 29 Sep 85 pp 16-20

/Article by Xu Tianqi /1776 1131 3825/ and Ye Zhendong /0673 2182 2639/ of Hangzhou University: "Inevitable Trend and Major Course of China's Agricultural Labor Force Shift"/

/Text/ I. Shift of Agricultural Labor Force Is an Inevitable Outcome of Historical Development

The shift of agricultural labor force is an unavoidable course that any country must go through in a certain historical stage, it is an inevitable outcome of historical development.

Agriculture being the primary source of the fundamental means of human livelihood had been a sector producing material means that appeared the earliest in human society. At the primitive agricultural stage, due to extremely low labor productivity, food and other items produced by agriculture could barely sustain the existence of members of society and the shifting of surplus agricultural labor force was out of the question. With the development of agricultural productive forces, the primitive agricultural stage entered into traditional agricultural stage. By then, after satisfying the needs of the agricultural population itself, there were still some surplus agricultural products left for a small portion of the agricultural labor force to engage in other activities. The social division of labor took place on three occasions. It was under these kinds of social and economic conditions which also represented the course of shift in agricultural labor force.

With the steady improvement in agricultural labor productivity, still more agricultural labor force was shifted to other sectors, thereby developing social division of labor a step further. Marx put it rightly: "The less time needed by society for producing wheat and raising domestic animals, the more time will be made available for other forms of production--material and spiritual." (Quotes from "Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on Communist Society" p 67) However, it should be noted that agricultural labor productivity improved very slowly at the traditional agricultural stage. As a result, most of the social labor force was mainly engaged in agricultural production and there had never been any large-scale shifts in agricultural labor force over the past several thousand long years.

As traditional agriculture entered into a modernized agricultural stage, agricultural labor productivity rose rapidly due to mechanization and modernized management in production shifting a large measure of the agricultural labor force to other sectors. For example, in the United States, the number of manhours consumed for producing an equal amount of agricultural and animal products between 1945 and 1949 and between 1970 and 1974 was reduced as follows: corn by eight-ninths, cotton five-sixths, wheat and milk about three-fourths, hog two-thirds, eggs four-fifths, meat chicken sixteen-seventeenths. As a result, U.S. agricultural population had reduced from 24.42 million to 7.8 million from 1945 to 1977. The shift of agricultural labor force during this period was prominently expressed in the gradual decline in the absolute figures of the agricultural population. The rise of this situation in the United States also represented a general trend of human social development. Lenin said: "Nearly all the population in countries where the commodity economy is not quite well-developed (or completely undeveloped) belongs to agricultural population.... Therefore, the development of commodity economy signifies that more and more people are detached from agriculture." (Complete Works of Lenin" Vol III, pp 19-20)

The general trend of the agricultural labor force shift is not only an inevitable outcome of historical development but also a symbol of human social progress. It indicated that social productive force had advanced to a new level and that mankind could acquire more products with less labor, it also showed that new spheres for human activities are being developed steadily. For this reason, every country must go through such changes. Even in some developing countries like Yugoslavia, the proportion of agricultural labor force in relation to the total population is reducing year by year. Yugoslavia's agricultural population has declined from 75 percent of the total population in 1945 to approximately 25 percent at present. Since liberation, China has greatly modernized its agriculture, its agricultural machinery now possesses 220 million horsepower in total motive power, even if the effective utilization rate is computed on an 80 percent basis, the available horsepower still amounts to 176 million horsepower with each horsepower equaling to 8 or 9 manpower. If it is computed on the basis of 6 manpower per horsepower, it will mean that 1.056 billion manpower will be added to the countryside, nearly 200 percent greater than the present agricultural labor force across the country. It should be said that it has made it objectively possible for a quicker shift of the agricultural labor force. However, China's agricultural labor force that rose from 180 million men in 1952 to 376 million men in 1982 still accounts for 73.2 percent in proportion to the total labor force, greatly surpassing that in the developing countries such as Sri Lanka (47.4 percent), Mexico (39 percent), Brazil (one-third) and Pakistan (54.8 percent). Of course the cause for this was manysided, but the most important being that we ran counter to the demand of the objective law for a long time in understanding and handling this issue and obstructed the shift of the agricultural labor force toward other sectors in every way thereby slowing down the rise in agricultural labor productivity. Although there had been a considerable increase in China's total grain output from 1957 to 1978, the agricultural labor force during the same period increased by more than 100 million men. The result was that while the amount of grain produced by each agricultural laborer in 1957 came to 2,020 jin, by 1978, after more than 20 years, the amount totaled merely 2,080 jin. The average annual increase was

less than 3 jin. In 1978, China's average cultivated land acreage in the hands of each agricultural laborer came to only 5.09 mu, the waste resulting from unnecessarily tying down the labor force on so little land is extremely alarming. Judging from the situation in general, each laborer puts in approximately 300 workdays a year. Calculated on the present average of 6 mu of cultivated land per agricultural laborer in China plus approximately 40 percent of multiple crop index, it is estimated that each laborer has to take care roughly 8 mu of farmland. Such being the case, it would require each agricultural laborer to put in only 150 workdays, in other words, half of the workdays are wasted in agricultural labor. Under the circumstances mentioned above, it is impossible to improve the agricultural labor productivity considerably.

For more than 30 years, with the improvement in agricultural modernization and the increase in the agricultural labor force in China, surplus labor force in agriculture has reached an extremely alarming number. At present the surplus agricultural labor force throughout the year accounts for roughly 30 percent of the agricultural labor force or 150 million men. The amount of surplus labor force is expected to increase even more due to the implementation of the production-related system of contracted responsibility and rural population growth. It is forecast that by the year 2000, the rural labor force will reach 450 million men and by the end of this century, the labor force that can be accommodated by all the cultivated land in China's countryside will not exceed three-tenths of the total rural labor force, in other words, only 135 million people can be accommodated and more than 300 million people in the agricultural labor force must be shifted to other sectors. The consequences will be very serious if this matter is not solved in earnest.

## II. Special Characteristics of China's Agricultural Labor Force Shift

The shift of agricultural labor force is the natural outcome of historical development. But this shift came into being due to the limited increase in China's agricultural labor productivity and the yearly growth in agricultural population far exceeding what the land can bear, the result is population taxing the productive force.

In studying the shift of China's agricultural labor force, we must take note of the basic facts as follows:

1. We must notice the basic fact that China's agricultural labor productivity is still relatively low and that the agricultural population accounts for a considerable proportion in the total population. According to 1976 data, the average acreage of cultivated land undertaken by each laborer is 1,244 mu in the United States, 118.7 mu in France, 1,092.4 mu in Canada, 135.5 mu in the Soviet Union and 28.7 mu in Yugoslavia, but only a little over 5 mu in China. The amount of grain produced came to 234,479 jin in the United States, 28,000 jin in France, more than 150,000 jin in Canada, 18,794 jin in the Soviet Union and more than 8,000 jin in Yugoslavia but merely 2,000 jin in China. The number of people supported by each laborer is more than 50 in the United States, 22 in France, 10 in the Soviet Union, 5 in Yugoslavia but only 3.2 in China. As a result, China's agricultural population accounts for a large proportion in the total population bringing about a situation in which 800 million peasants have to produce food for 1 billion people.

Although some progress has been made in agricultural labor productivity in recent years, it still cannot provide a substantial amount of marketable grain. This has restricted the large-scale shift of agricultural labor force to a certain extent. However, we cannot regard on the basis of this fact that conditions for substantial shift in agricultural labor force are basically not ready at the moment because China's agricultural labor productivity is distorted by some false impressions. If 30 percent of the surplus agricultural labor force at present is shifted to other sectors, it will greatly improve the agricultural labor productivity instead of affecting agricultural production. For instance, in Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, where the shift of agricultural labor force progressed faster in recent years, the rural and township enterprises has hired 120,000 people from among the 520,000-man agricultural labor force in the entire county accounting for 23 percent of the total labor force, besides the gross agricultural output value from 1978 to 1983 was more than doubled in 5 short years indicating a rapid increase in the agricultural labor productivity.

The issue is we must have a pretty good idea as to what extent the present agricultural labor force can shift, we should not make the shift unrealistically like the capitalist countries resulting in developing industry at the expense of agriculture.

2. We should also notice that the structure within agriculture itself has remained extremely irrational, the old pattern that took shape over the years focusing on crop growing in agriculture has remained unchanged. In 1952, the output value of the country's crop growing accounted for 83.1 percent of the gross agricultural output value, 0.3 percent of forestry, 11.5 percent of animal husbandry, 4.4 percent of sideline occupation and 0.3 percent of fishery; by 1982, the proportion of the output value of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupation and fishery accounted for 62.7 percent, 4.1 percent, 15.5 percent, 16 percent and 1.7 percent of the gross agricultural output value respectively with crop growing still occupying an important position. This status quo has not only seriously affected the improvement in agricultural labor productivity but also adversely hampered the improvement of the people's living standard throughout the country. According to a forecast by the departments concerned, by the year 2000, the annual consumption mix of the people in cities and town will reflect a drop from 335 jin to 300 jin in grain; but in the meat category, it will increase from 41 jin to 95-105 jin for the people in cities and towns and increase from 18 jin to 40-56 jin for the people in the countryside; fresh eggs will increase from 10.44 jin to 34-42 jin for the people in cities and towns and from 2.5 jin to 20-30 jin for the people in the countryside; fish and shrimp will increase from 14.52 jin to 24-28 jin for the people in cities and towns and increase from 2.56 jin to 5-8 jin for the people in the countryside; fruits will increase from 42.5 jin to 120-150 jin for the people in cities and towns and increase to 30-40 jin for the people in the countryside. To this end, it requires us to make substantial readjustment on the present unreasonable agricultural structure and achieve notable progress in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupation and fishery. We should realize therefore that only the crop growing industry has a surplus agricultural labor force in our country today. According to estimates by departments concerned, by the year 2000, forestry, animal

husbandry, fishery and processing industries by commune member households will be able to place 190 million people or 42.3 percent of the labor force at that time.

3. We should realize that the urban industries are still unable to arrange for more labor force. History shows that the shift of the agricultural labor force in most countries in the world generally took place when the labor force for urban industries was critically short. The effect of the law of value pushed it principally toward the cities especially large cities. During the period between 1950 and 1980, the urban population rose from 70.9 percent to 86.4 percent in West Germany, from 64 percent to 82.7 percent in the United States, and from 55.4 percent to 78.3 percent in France. The agricultural labor force in capitalist society flowed unrealistically in large numbers toward the cities and concentrated there. Such concentration overcrowded the cities of capitalist countries with each passing day, seriously set cities against the countryside and brought about environmental pollution, traffic congestion, sharp rise in crime rate and a series of other social effects of pollution. Some developing countries such as India and Mexico are also having this kind of problems at present from which we must take warning. Our national conditions are different, the present situation confronting us is characterized by poor management and overstaffed personnel in enterprises. Therefore the urban industries are not short of labor force, they even have more than needed, moreover, they have to accommodate the employment of 3.2 million-man newly added labor force in cities and towns across the country each year. We should take into consideration such factors as scientific and technological progress, renovation of enterprises and readjustment of production setup in anticipation of the fact that by the year 2000, the average discrepancy in the number of workers and staff members in the cities and towns each year will be around 1 million, in other words, only 1 million men from the agricultural labor force are allowed to shift to urban industries and other sectors each year, this figure is equivalent to the present level. From 1978 to 1982, of the newly employed people in the cities, 5.046 million people (not including the educated youth working the countryside and mountain areas came from the rural labor force.

Therefore, urban enterprises should in the main make full use of the people in cities and towns waiting for a job and superfluous personnel of old enterprises, they cannot absorb too many people from the agricultural labor force, this is where the difference between our country and other countries overseas lies.

Finally, we should see that due to our comparatively weak economic foundation and the extremely arduous construction tasks, construction funds are extremely strained. We are still unable to put in large amount of funds within a short period of time, nor can the great numbers of newly built cities and numerous factories place the surplus agricultural labor force in a big way. According to China's industrial and technological structure, it needs roughly 10,000 yuan in fixed funds on average to equip a worker in our cities at present, which is relatively low by international standards. Even if computed at the current low level, it still needs an investment of 170 billion yuan each year to place 300 million people from the surplus agricultural labor force.

Judging from the annual investment in our country at present, this is evidently

inconceivable. Consequently, we must fully arouse the collective and individual enthusiasm and let the collective raise funds and individuals come up with money to develop more professions and trades that need small amounts of funds to fully develop their structure so as to absorb more people from the labor force. This is also the characteristic of the agricultural labor force shift in our country.

### III. Major Ways of Shifting China's Agricultural Labor Force

1. Vigorously developing the rural household economy. At present the output-related system of contracted responsibility based on household has been widely implemented in China's countryside bringing forth a new type household economy. Its development is not only beneficial to promoting agricultural production but also conducive to assimilating the surplus agricultural labor force.

Handicapped by technology, funding and the literacy level in the countryside, most of the household economic undertakings in China's countryside at present is limited to labor-intensive production. Because a household economy requires little money to develop more of the labor force can be absorbed by investing a smaller amount of funds. According to data obtained from an investigation in Quanshu County, Anhui Province, based on that country's technological level in 1980, for each 10,000 yuan spent in production funds, it can place 46 people in developing the household economy, 12 people in rural and township enterprises and only 1 person in urban industry. According to statistics from 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, there are 15,637,200 rural specialized households (including key households) throughout the country accounting for 9.4 percent of the total number of peasant households and playing a significant role in finding a solution for the surplus agricultural labor force.

Of course, a great part of the rural household economy at present falls within the scope of agriculture. According to statistics, among the specialized households, 34.2 percent is engaged in crop growing, 32.5 percent in breeding and only 13 percent and 1.1 percent are engaged in commerce, service trades, transport and processing respectively. However, the rural economy has developed rapidly as a result of the series of policies laid down since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee such as those dealing with hiring helpers, distribution of dividends, purchasing large-size means of transportation and long-distance transportation and so forth. The rural specialized households are now expanding from crop growing and breeding in the main toward industry, commerce, communication and transport and building industries and other service trades. This shows that the rural household economy is becoming a gigantic reservoir for accommodating the surplus labor force.

#### 2. Rapidly develop township and town enterprises.

At present, in the development of the township and town enterprise economy, arrangements to accommodate the surplus agricultural labor force are being fully implemented. Up to the end of 1982 there were 1.362 million township and town enterprises, employing 31.12 million people, or about 10 percent of the total labor force. Their output value was 85.87 billion yuan, about

one-third of the total national agricultural output. Similarly, the township and town enterprises of Huashe township, Zhaoxing county, Zhejiang province already account for more than 70 percent of the total township labor force, and created 94 percent of the township's yearly output value.

There are broad prospects in the development of township and town enterprises, there are many kinds of production projects to engage in, such as the food products industry, the feed industry, building materials and construction, transportation, and services. For example, the food products industry, rural, township and town food products output value in 1982 was only 5.3 billion yuan, about 7 percent of the total national food products industry output value, moreover our whole national food products industry is lagging behind, Japan's, the United States' and West Germany's food processing industries' output value is twice that of their agricultural sector, and Britain's is nine times that of their agricultural sector, yet ours is but one-third. Therefore our food products industry, especially our rural food processing industry can develop enormously within a certain number of years. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the output value of the rural food processing industry will reach 97 billion yuan, or 18.3 times that of 1982, and increase its portion of the total national food products industry output value to 27 percent, indicating that it will be able to accommodate a large number of the labor force. Another example is the rural commercial and service enterprises, as recently as 1980 there were only 317,000 or 5.8 per commune, with only 3.2 billion yuan in income. It is estimated that by the year 2000, rural commercial income will be 31 billion yuan, 25.3 times that of 1982, they also will be able to accommodate a large amount of the labor force. According to statistics of concerned departments, following the development of township and town enterprises by the year 2000 they will be able to absorb four-tenths of the total rural labor force existing at that time, or 180 million people, an extraordinarily good figure.

### 3. Vigorously develop and establish small cities and towns.

The population is becoming urbanized, this is an objective necessity in the development of productive forces, and an indication of social progress, all countries must pass through this historical process. However, there are two different ways to accomplish this process: One way is to let the rural population blindly and spontaneously agglomerate in large cities to the point of overexpanding the urban population and bringing about a series of political, economic and social problems; the other way is to develop small market towns in a planned manner so as to turn agricultural population locally into nonagricultural population. Facts show that developing small market towns is of vital significance in improving the overall layout of productive forces, regulating the distribution of urban and rural population, organizing the supply of goods and materials, personnel and exchange of information and elevating the scientific and educational level of the whole nation.

Small market towns in our country comprise two major categories, county towns and rural market towns. There are approximately 3,200 county towns across the country and roughly more than 53,000 rural market towns established under the town organizational system in the past, most of them are now located in

townships. If within the next number of years, each county town and market town assimilate 2,000 men from the agricultural labor force, 120 million people from the rural population will be assimilated by the more than 56,000 small towns. The mistakes made in our country in urban development in the past were that too many large cities were developed too fast while not enough medium and small cities were developed and even small rural market towns were on the decline for a time resulting the extremely irrational urban structure in our country at present. In terms of urban population across the country, extraordinary large cities with a population over 1 million account for 35.2 percent, large cities with a population between 500,000 and 1 million constitute 20.7 percent, medium cities with a population between 200,000 and 500,000 take up 25.6 percent, and small cities with a population under 200,000 account for only 18.5 percent. While the urban population of our country is much lower than that of the developed countries, the proportion of population in large cities is much higher than the urban population in these countries. Take the United States for example, the population of its extraordinary large cities with a population above 1 million account for only 12.8 percent of the urban population in the entire country and large cities with a population between 500,000 and 1 million account for only 8.7 percent of the urban population in the entire country. It is clear that the large cities in our country are overexpanded. Therefore, we must energetically develop small market towns and intensify the construction of small market towns.

4. Encouraging peasants to take care of their own food grain, raise funds on their own, go to towns and frontier regions to engage in various professions and trade and develop an "amphibious" population. There are millions of skillful craftsmen in our countryside, according to statistics, the number of skillful craftsmen throughout the country accounts for at least 2 to 3 percent of the rural population. Take Yiwu County, Zhejiang Province, for example, the county has an agricultural labor force of 248,500 men. According to statistics, 10,000 men are capable of doing construction work, 3,000 people can make wooden bed frames strung with crisscross coir ropes and teased cotton, 11,000 people are able to collect and purchase scrap and old materials and handle small general merchandise and 3,000 households know how to make beancurd in the sheets. We should fully tap the potential of these people and encourage them to take care of their own food grain, raise their own funds and go to small market towns to start business or take up jobs there, only by so doing can the small market towns be developed and made flourish in the true sense and genuinely play their role of "reservoir" of labor force.

Large and medium cities should also allow peasants to open shops and set up stalls in the cities in a controlled manner for the convenience of the urban people. In the countryside of Wenling County of Zhejiang Province alone, more than 3,000 peasants who took care of their own food grain have opened beancurd shops, optical repair shops, cotton-teasing shops and bean sprout shops in such large and medium cities as Shanghai, Beijing, Nanjing and Urumqi to the warm welcome of the local people there. Furthermore, with the development of the urban industry and the relaxing of the hiring policy a step further, large numbers of people in the surplus agricultural labor force will work for a fixed season or a fixed number of years in the cities on a contract basis and return to the countryside upon accomplishing certain tasks. Some people have estimated that this contingent may reach 50 million people in strength in the next 5 to 10 years.

Our country is vast in territory where economic development in various localities is extremely uneven, by exporting technology and labor service from economically and technologically advanced regions with a huge population but limited land to other regions not only can we take care of the surplus labor force and increase individual income locally but also promote economic development in other places. Nearly 1 million peasant handicraftsmen from Zhejiang Province are engaged in all kinds of business in 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country. For instance, Yongjia County of southern Zhejiang last year gave approval to 36,000 people to work in other places, this figure accounted for more than 15 percent of the total rural labor force in the entire county, their earnings came to more than 56 million yuan or 48.9 percent of the total agricultural income of the entire county. The frontier regions with vast territory and a sparse population and a poor economy are good places for agricultural labor force in the southeastern coastal regions to shift there. We should encourage the surplus agricultural labor force, especially the skillful craftsmen, to take care of their own food grain and go to the frontier regions to take part in seasonal work. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, nearly 100 rural construction teams from Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shandong have gone to Xinjiang one after another. Like migratory birds which arrived in the spring and left during the winter, they engaged in construction work in Xinjiang for 7 or 8 months a year making vital contributions to frontier construction. It is therefore of vital significance to encourage an "amphibious" population.

In short, we must correctly understand and handle the issue of shifting the agricultural labor force and support and promote this shift by keeping in mind that this is inevitable in historical development and also the special characteristics of the shift of agricultural labor force in our country, we must follow the road of shift in Chinese style so as to properly solve the issue of surplus agricultural labor force in our country.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL PROSPECTS FOR CHINA AFTER DENG VIEWED

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES MONTHLY] in Chinese No 193, Feb 86  
pp 54-59

[Article by Lang Lang [6745 6745]: "Looking at Political Factions in China After Deng"]

[Excerpts] After Deng has passed away, who will be in power? Among the current political factions, the third echelon's young and vigorous faction is itching to go. How will they mature? What are their bases? What are their similarities and differences with their fathers' generation? After they come to power, what policies will they put into effect?

Who Will Hold Power After Deng?

In the countries of the contemporary world, no matter whether there are expert political experts who like Deng Xiaoping himself and his policies, and those who do not, they all will probably acknowledge two points:

First, in the past several years China has made political progress--at least there are no longer large-scale mass movements of the "strong winds and storms" type. With the reduction of political pressure on people, there is a comparatively stable life environment. China has become a stable factor for peace in the contemporary Third World. This is of even more advantage to China's own economic development.

Second, the economic policy of "opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy" of the past several years has caused major changes in China's economic system. Even if many problems are hard to solve for a time, to the extent that the difficulty in judging the future is still a single-plank bridge on a broad thoroughfare, the courage and decisiveness of this reform has always been admirable. Reform is hope, and objectively China in the past several years has not avoided some detours and disorders economically, but it really has made some advances. The entire Chinese society and the outside world's modern societies have been promoted through exchange of personnel and also through exchange of information and materials. Compared with the relations when Dulles gnashed his teeth and pointed at it as a "lone wolf," China's relations with the world are poles apart. Certain Western intellectuals who have gone to the Soviet Union and then to China

naively even mistakenly think that "China has already taken the capitalist road." Whether what they say is accurate or not doesn't concern them. In short, in comparison with inflexible old Russia, they like the flexible China.

Therefore, even if there is no lack of critical and satirical opinions abroad, to give them their due, those in the know are satisfied with and admire the China ruled by Deng Xiaoping. The question is: How long can this state of affairs last? Can it continue?

Therefore, Deng Xiaoping's health has become quite a sensitive topic of conversation for experts on Chinese affairs.

After Deng Xiaoping has passed away, what kind of person will seize power, and what kind of situation will arise, are questions that widely receive close attention in China and abroad. The conjecture recently made by some persons that there is the possibility that pro-Soviet forces will come to power has drawn a certain amount of attention. To get to the bottom of the actual situation, we might as well analyze the reality in China.

The political factions in China today can roughly be listed as follows:

#### The Founding Members From First to Last Are the "Classical Faction"

First, the classical faction: no matter what persons abroad divide Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun [7115 0061] respectively into the reformer and the conservative, in reality they are both staunch communists. Their thought patterns were determined long ago in their youth. Also, once beliefs are formed they will never change, and we cannot ask them to change their basic principles. They are Marxists, and the only difference between them is on how to interpret and apply the basic principles of Marxism. Most of their differences are only on the question of how to make the basic tenets of Marxism develop flexibly in today's reality. On this point, no misunderstanding is allowed. Therefore, economically they want development and modernization; ideologically they tenaciously defend the "four upholds," and hope China will be able to return to what it was in the fifties and sixties, letting "Uncle Lei Feng" return. For this reason, on the one hand they want to enliven the economy and open China to the outside world; on the other hand they want to strengthen the state apparatus, purify the ideology, unify public opinion, and improve the social educative function of literature and art. But the contradictory policies in these two aspects--opening up economically and staying conservative ideologically--are diametrically opposed. Their ideal prescription is very hard for a real society to accept and implement. Therefore, it leads to new duplicity and to a proneness to boast and exaggerate. Their principles are becoming more and more divorced from the needs of reality, so that at times they must turn back and seek help from the deterrent force of the dictatorship apparatus. Therefore, the "car they are driving" now swerves to the left and then swerves to the right as they try to strike a balance between all factions, something which is easier said than done.

With regard to them, the common Chinese people have gone through several processes of hope and then disappointment, again hope and again

disappointment. Now their greatest hope with regard to them is the hope that they will soon peacefully "hand over to the next shift," handing over power to people who are better able to face reality, who have some advanced knowledge and management capabilities, who will do more good things for the common Chinese people and who will let the Chinese society tend toward progress.

But they themselves are completely unaware, because with power in their hands they naturally consider themselves the embodiment of truth and the national spokesmen for the the people. Because they really have subjective desires, there has been formed around them a social force of people who "carry their sedan chairs, blow their horns, and polish their shoes." This force has caused them daily to become further separated from reality and from the broad masses.

These experts in "carrying sedan chairs," who are the most sinister in Chinese tradition, have already been formed into a faction in China, and this is the second faction:

#### Sinister Opportunists--the "Cultural Revolution Faction"

Second, there is the Cultural Revolution faction. These people may be said to be opportunists, and they took advantage of the Cultural Revolution to scramble up. Now, although they can no longer be gaudy and showy, they also are not, because of this, completely crushed. The unlucky break is that only a minority of them are brave. The majority still lie low and wait for an opportunity in the hope of achieving their ambitions. These people have no theoretical system, and they are out-and-out opportunists. For them, theory is only a weapon--a flight of steps for climbing up. During the Cultural Revolution, these people learned all sorts of tricks in political struggle to seize and consolidate political power, and they will stop at nothing. They are masters of the "black arts" of ancient and modern times, and are a group of negative factors in society who cannot be underestimated. In reality, in China today they cannot make a comprehensive comeback, because their representatives are loathed and spurned, and because they also do not have any base in the masses. However, like ants they have a very strong power of attachment, and can attach themselves to other factions. In the years of the "Cultural Revolution," they were the "gang of four's" go-getters, and today they can disguise themselves as activists in supporting the "four modernizations." Tomorrow they will put on another guise.

Their heartlessness and viciousness certainly cannot be ignored, and once they get power they will certainly act like fascists. Unfortunately, the elder statemen of the classical faction, in order to unite all the people, carry out the four modernizations well, and not stir up internal resentment, "look forward." In reality, they forgive and tolerate them, and up to now the majority of persons of this type have not received the punishment they deserve. I am not advocating that they be paid back in kind, but that at least they are singled out so that their reactionary nature is exposed to the light of day. The people's vigilance should be heightened. It is more than 40 years since the German fascists were eliminated, but to this day the German people still constantly examine themselves, still constantly call people's attention to the possibility that neofascism will rear its head. At the very

least there were a million neofascists during the Cultural Revolution, and have they now all stood up and become buddhas "looking forward"?

These persons are about 40 years old, and in private they threaten, "We'll see who lives the longest." And the old people's faces beam with smiles of affection. The old people even blame writers who continue to expose the crimes of the Cultural Revolution, and do not want them to look at the painful wounds of the past but rather sing the praises of the present. Man is a forgetful animal, and this is especially true of people who are adept at holding power. For the sake of political appearances, they put on a show of being "bold and vigorous."

However, there are clear-headed persons who are the natural enemies of the neofascists, namely, today's third echelon, who are rubbing their hands and itching to have a go. We might as well call them the "young and vigorous faction."

#### Children of Cadres--the "Young and Vigorous Faction"

This faction is the third echelon, which is just now comprehensively taking power, and it is mainly composed of the children of cadres. In saying that they are the "natural enemies" of the "Cultural Revolution faction," there is this connotation: speaking as a whole, the "Cultural Revolution faction" has a poor-family background, while the majority of the "young and vigorous faction" are the children of cadres. In the initial stage of the "Cultural Revolution," the former were the "rebels" and the latter were the conservative "veteran Red Guards." Throughout the ages in China the society has been rigidly hierarchical, and extremely few of the common people have had the opportunity for political promotion of an integrated nature. During the Cultural Revolution, through repeated reversals a small number of honest but poor scholars met with a fate like that of the martyr (Yuloke). The majority of people, oppressed and wearied by the tricky political struggle, went back to their former academic or technical posts. Those left behind who continued to rise sharply in the political whirlpool became political tricksters and intriguers. Their experience is exactly the opposite to that of the children of cadres, and they have become two types of people who are mutually hostile. With their family backgrounds being completely different, they can be called "natural enemies."

The term "cadre child" in the past several years has become widely known in public opinion circles abroad, and it has an extremely bad connotation. It has almost become a synonym for "playboy," "dandy," and "juvenile delinquent." On the one hand, this is because of the effect that a minority of degenerates have had on society, and on the other hand it is because the actual situation of this type of person is rarely known by the outside world. As a result, once they think of "children of cadres," they consider the best of them to be no more than social crawlers while the great majority are degenerates who buy trinkets and rings. The facts are not like this.

We can make this appraisal: the majority of the children of Chinese cadres, who are the third echelon, are good or comparatively good, and those of them

who are unworthy are a little young. They are the "fallen generation" formed during the Cultural Revolution.

#### Maturation of the "Young and Vigorous Faction"

Children of CPC cadres are mainly concentrated in Beijing. The majority of them have studied in the "Cultivation of Talent," "Cultivation of Heroes," "August One," "November One," and "Beijing" boarding schools, receiving an education in idealism, like the education in heroism. Under the strict requirements and the restrictions of the collective, there are extremely few cases of them running wild as playboys and taking advantage of their fathers' power to bully people. Even if, in order to curry favor with certain parents, the schools give individual children some special consideration, this is done surreptitiously because it deviates by a long way from the positive education of speaking sternly out of a sense of justice. This colony is made to maintain a sense of purity and a sense of justice in political affairs. Here I speak of the "children of cadres" and not of the "children of high-level cadres," because in these times and in the competition with this scope their opportunities are relatively equal. Whether a child stands out among his fellows mainly depends on his prestige among his fellow students. Therefore, many children who stand out among their fellows are the sons of middle-level cadres, because they either have a stronger sense of dedication or have a strong aspiration to change their position.

When they enter middle school, this education in idealism is intensified. The "No 101 Middle School," "No 4 Middle School," "Middle School Attached to Normal University," "Girls Middle School Attached to Normal University," and other famous schools have become gathering places for the children of cadres. Later middle schools attached to various universities in the western suburbs will be added, because the number of cadre children is steadily increasing.

Also, in junior middle school they are guided to study books on revolutionary theory, so that they gradually change from self-styled revolutionaries to conscious revolutionaries. Take, for example, the "No 101 Middle School." In sports, academic marks, and moral conduct, its students are rated among the best in the municipality. The collective sense of honor and the personal sense of mission of its students make them study assiduously and temper their bodies in a wide variety of sports. Their living conditions fall far short of what they were in primary school, but they take arduous circumstances as an honor (of course, their living conditions are much better than those of the majority of poor people in China). Besides giving them heavy loads of homework, the school makes them do heavy work in production, so that the "No 101's" students receive the kind of strict training that the Spartan people gave their children in ancient times. Therefore, their balanced development in physical strength and intelligence often far exceeds that of an ordinary middle school student. By basically achieving a balance in the moral, physical, and intellectual aspects, a number of unprecedentedly outstanding elements are trained for this class. During the Cultural Revolution, this kind of school was regarded by the "gang of four" as a "breeding ground for aristocrats," a "thorn in the flesh," and a "mote in the eye," this type of people truly dared to directly defy the gang of four and also had political strength. Because these "breeding grounds" were destroyed, the Chinese communists in reality

lost an assembly line for training their own successors, and also lost a relatively rational way of selecting talented persons.

China has neither an imperial examination system nor true election contests. Very few ordinary people have an opportunity to get close to the center of power. Even if by hook or crook they manage to bore into the center of power, the powerholders, in looking and comparing, still favor their own sons. In the fifties and sixties, the cadre children studying in the Soviet Union or the cadre children trained in Harbin Military Engineering College as well as in Qinghua University, Beijing University, Beijing Aeronautical College, China University of Science and Technology, and Beijing Institute of Political Science and Law, speaking as a whole, were more suited to be the successors to the old Communist Party members, and they also had the capability and were taking over in a planned way.

#### Basis of the Power of the "Young and Vigorous Faction"

After the Cultural Revolution, the cadre children split up. The batch of people who idled away all their time in pleasure-seeking, who had no high aspirations, and who acted ostentatiously in society, in reality, were eliminated by selection through competition in the social stratum of cadre children. The first category of outstanding elements among the cadre children--people like Li Peng [2621 7720], Jia Chunwang [6328 2504 2489], and Yuan Chongwu [7086 1504 2976]--have already been promoted to the vice premier or minister level and have begun to get direct hold of some state power. The second category of outstanding elements--people like Ye Xuanping [5509 6693 1627], Chen Haosu [7115 8504 5685], and Chen Yuan [7115 0337]--have already entered the leading groups at the province and city levels, and now hold actual power. The third category of people are now being promoted to be the number one or number two man in small and medium-sized cities or counties, or are becoming the figures who hold actual power in large enterprises and large companies, or in the armed forces are being promoted to leaders at the army and division levels. There are many more people in this category.

Through the Cultural Revolution a sentence was circulated in society: "With a rifle one is 'king of the bushes' [a euphemism for a bandit chief]" (an actor's line in the modern stage play "Sha Jia Bang"). This illustrates the importance of holding power and the importance of having a base. A high-level cadre's child who has an extremely good family background but who has nothing to do is not as good to the central authorities as a middle-level cadre's child who has done practical work in a county party committee for several years. In the years when Wan Li [5502 6849] and Zhao Ziyang "for their meritorious services entered Beijing" and "if one wanted to eat grain one sought out Ziyang, and if one wanted to eat rice one sought out Wan Li," what was precisely behind them were big changes in the land of plenty and the flower-drum townships, which gave them political capital. During the trial of strength between Deng Xiaoping on the one hand and Hua Guofeng and Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281], Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li were able to tip the scales toward the side that was advantageous to the reform faction. Therefore, farsighted cadres now one after another drive their children to go the frontline, like the old papa in Pushkin's "The Captain's Daughter," who, seeing that his aristocratic children enjoyed high position and lived in ease and comfort,

drove them out of the capital city to fight in wars and to engage in the rough and tumble of life. When they return to the center, they will no longer be "tender chicks" who spout empty talk, but will have been baptized in gunpowder smoke and mud.

What is more important is that, if such a person is given work, he not only will have the capability to handle it (having already been tempered in this capability at the basic level), but also he will be better able to bring along all "members of the squad"--the small body of people who work together. These "members of the squad" will already have long ago established a basis of mutual trust and understanding, and they will coordinate by tacit agreement, like a proficient ball team. In today's circumstances, in which a system that was thrown into disarray by the Cultural Revolution is being reorganized, the "mountain strongholds" have been changed into another invisible system. In reality, the central authorities have given their tacit consent to the reality that "every new sovereign brings his own courtiers"--a new chief brings in new aides. Any person who takes up an official post also wants to reorgnize his group, so that it is changed into one with his own most proficient supporters. If he did not he would not be able to do his work well, or not be able to do his work at all.

Just think, would a person who came from the outside, a person who suddenly came in a vertical landing and takeoff aircraft, a child of an ordinary common person have any possibility of making these connections, getting into this circle, and being acknowledged by this stratum? If once in a while one or two persons like this do rise up, if they don't immediately attach themselves to a certain "mountain stronghold," they will be made into mere figureheads or become persons bogged down in routine work.

#### The "Covert Leading Cadres" and Others

Most of the fourth category of people have become "covert leading cadres," namely, secretaries. At present, the secretaries of many important figures are the sons and daughters of old comrades-in-arms. For one thing, this arrangement is convenient, and for another thing they are trusted. During the Cultural Revolution, at times there occurred cases of secretaries turning against their bosses and informing on them to the Central Cultural Revolution Group, a fact which made the old men realize that the secretaries held the balance. Thinking that to ask their own sons and daughters to be their secretaries would really be going too far, most of them asked reliable, knowledgeable children of cadres to be their secretaries. Because the "leading cadres" are gradually becoming old, their eyesight is gradually dimming, and their minds are gradually becoming dull, these secretaries have become the actual readers and commenters on documents and the actual handlers of affairs. In school these people were not the very best, so they are content to be secretaries. However, now they can coordinate with those of their school fellows who are on the rise, and through connections land the transmission of information at crucial moments decide the position of the leading cadres. Therefore, they play a role that cannot be overlooked.

The fifth category of people, because their luck is not good or they are thoroughly tired of politics, engage in science, art, or other academic work

or in specific management work. After working for several years, these persons cannot avoid being selected to be leaders at the basic level. This is because Chinese people have the habit, on the one hand, of condemning the children of cadres in society as unworthy, and, on the other hand, of highly respecting the cadre children at their sides.

The sixth category of people are those who truly disdain to do anything. Because there are limits to what I can write, I cannot say much about them. I will only make one statement: they are destined sooner or later to be the dregs eliminated by this stratum itself or by society.

Summing up what I have written above, because of the special national condition of China the succession in this colony seems to have been completed. It is probable that when Deng is about to die, there will be a certain degree of shock, but very quickly power will be stabilized in the hands of a new group. It may be said: in organization, theory, and actual power, this new group cannot be compared to any other group at present. As for the "democratic faction" that has appeared in recent years among the students studying in the West, or the "liberal faction" that has appeared among university students, or the "neoconfucian faction" that has appeared in academic circles, they are far from forming a political force, and we even do not say that they will seize and hold political power. Some people say this is a "volcanic eruption," but in reality it is only a fanfare that will pass away in a flash.

#### The Similarities and Differences Between the "Young and Vigorous Faction" and Their Fathers' Generation

Then what are the similarities and differences between this "young and vigorous faction" and their fathers' generation?

First, on theory: a point on which they are the same as the old people is that they are communist idealists who believe in achieving, for the greatest number of people in the end, an ideal state of a society that is ideal and in which the exploitation of man by man and the oppression of man by man have been eliminated. However, their ideals are no longer ready-made dogmatic formulas but an orientation. They do not, like classical theory, draw up specific timetables and lines of demarcation, but rather constantly tend toward advancing toward the ideal.

Second, cultural level: because they have, generally received a higher cultural education than the older generation, among them who studied science and engineering there are those who as early as the sixties read Weiner's "Cybernetics" and other basic theories of modern science. Their range of reading is wider. They know that there are worlds beyond their own, and so they have the spirit constantly exploring. They are extremely sensitive to new things, forming a distinct contrast with the apathy of the older generation of people. Therefore, their thinking is more nimble and more flexible and open.

Third, their relations with the basic level: the majority of them have gone to work in the countryside and mountain areas, or at least have been soldiers

and been the target of criticism. When they were forming their outlook on life, they shared weal and woe with the masses at the bottom, which made them better understand China's actual situation, and have more direct relations of countless ties with the basic level. Compared with the older generation of people, they can better face actual situations and better judge what things are true and what things are lies or exaggerations.

Fourth, their experience in struggle: because they have not, like the older generation, gone through a long period of ruthless bloody struggle and violent revolution, their hearts are too soft, they are full of human sympathy, and they are averse to ruthless struggle within the party. But, compared with the older generation, their understanding of the danger of the "Cultural Revolution faction" is more clear-headed, and after they come to power they will thoroughly root out the forces of this faction in order to remove the cause of future trouble.

Fifth, their cliquish nature: because they grew up in a peaceful environment they do not have as deep a "mountain stronghold" sectarian bias as the older generation. Speaking as a whole, they are more cliquish. All of the cadre children with a similar educational level, when they can have heart-to-heart talks, trust each other. Despite their political ups and downs in the past several years, some persons have been promoted too fast, and there are individuals whose heads have been turned so that they have a somewhat "snobbish attitude." However, the general body has the overwhelming force to rehabilitate them; otherwise, they will be eliminated by the general body. A responsible person of a certain company told me that another leader was to help the central authorities do something about which he had no understanding, and his brothers of the past ignored his plight. "This kind of person who climbs out on a high limb is not a Daoist immortal, and the jig is quickly up with him." The oral expressions of opinion by these people is extremely terrible, because after one person there is another, and outside this world there is another world. If it is made known to the central authorities that you don't know what to do, in a word you are finished. Therefore, persons who "are apt to pick a quarrel within a group" do not develop; conversely, they insure the unity of the whole, and this is much better than the fierce factional struggle of the older generation of people. The Cultural Revolution was also a little help to them. During it the rebel faction, no matter whether in the first, second, third, or fourth fields, always had the cadre children in the ranks opposing them. Therefore, the cadre children protected each other. In the early stage, they had misgivings, but in the latter stage, no matter whether it was the "black gang" or the "red gang" they were all composed of the cadre children, who entered into total rivalry with the rebel faction.

#### Estimate of the Policies of the "Young and Vigorous Faction" After It Comes to Power

Then, once this "young and vigorous faction" comes to power, what policies will it put into effect?

With their high sense of mission and idealism, the political situation they want to achieve is that kind of political situation that Mao Zedong long ago

talked about: having both democracy and centralism, both discipline and freedom, both united will and ease of mind, and being lively and vigorous. An examination of the dark side of things in modern Western society from the negative side stimulates their illusion of building an ideal society that has never existed before. "You didn't do it!? Now look at me!" What they want to establish is a socialist paradise with distinctive Chinese features. However, in the process of achieving their ideals, what situations will appear and what changes will occur, and what measures they will take, are hard to predict.

In the economy, the goal of the four modernizations must not be lost, but more attention will be paid to the welfare of the masses of people, and importance will be attached to a relative reduction in logarithms, statistical forms, and percentages. This is because paying attention to abstract "achievements in one's official career" is not as good as paying attention to where the popular will inclines. At the same time, they will be more effective in rectifying the corrupt and degenerate bureaucrats, and on this point their hearts will be harder and their hands heavier. This is because what the older generation wanted to rectify was their own children, while what they will want to rectify is their worthless brothers.

The challenges they will face domestically are:

The classical faction will criticize them for not sticking to the "four upholds," the Cultural Revolution faction will be a hindrance to actual reform and will even engage in sabotage and make trouble, and the democratic faction and the liberal faction will demand more scope ideologically. Their own political breadth and toughness should be more than sufficient to cope with these things, but today we still cannot see a clue to what the political forces that truly will be able to contend with them will be.

In foreign affairs, will there appear, as some people surmise, a situation of "abandoning America and cleaving to the Soviet Union"? I think there is no possibility of this. True, from a certain angle these people can be called a "faction inclining toward the Soviet Union," but that is only in ideological doctrine and does not indicate that they are bound to be "pro-Soviet" in political and foreign affairs.

It may be affirmed that these people are now advocating the fostering of good diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the restoration of normal state relations. But this only shows: they do not agree with the old people's ossification of foreign policy by limiting it to a theory, but rather think that any foreign policy must be premised on China's actual interests, and not be premised on an historical reason or a theoretical reason. Therefore, in the future China's foreign policy will be one of more flexible and more wide-ranging diplomatic relations, and they will not be diplomatic relations based on the idea of a feudal empire at the center of the world. It may be categorically asserted that any myth of a "one-sided tilt" has already become history in China, and there need not be any apprehension about China's returning to the great family of the "socialist camp."

In this sense, the succession of the third echelon will have a positive meaning for Hong Kong's stability and prosperity. We hope that the new

masters in Zhongnanhai will, in comparison with the old people, put a little more stress on reality and a little less on "face." In that case, there will be hope for Hong Kong's prosperity and development after 1997, because any clear-headed person understands this fact: for China, the maintaining of a Hong Kong with freedom of trade and freedom of speech definitely is an irreplaceably good thing. If a pattern that is taken for granted is forced on Hong Kong, China will be the first and heaviest loser.

The conclusion is: China's successors will be more reasonable and more intelligent; China's political future and internal situation will be more stable; and China's economy will be further developed. In that case, will it approach closer to Western-style democracy? No, absolutely not! That is a case of a "cart that runs on two roads."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG XIAOPING'S REVOLUTIONARY CAREER IN CHRONOLOGY

Hong Kong CHIU-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE NINETIES MONTHLY] in Chinese No 193, Feb 86  
pp 45-46

[Text] A Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping

I. Revolutionary Career, His Rise and Fall

1904 Born in Jiading County, Sichuan.

1920 Went to France on "work-study program," joined the CPC branch in France, remained in France for 5 years.

1925 Returned to China to take part in 1925-27 revolution and was later transferred to Guangxi to build the 7th Red Army.

1935 Assumed the post of deputy commander of Liu Bocheng's 12th Division; supported Mao Zedong's leadership at the Zunyi Conference.

1937 Assumed the post of political commissar of Liu Bocheng's 129th Division at the start of the War of Resistance.

1943 In charge of the General Political Department of the People's Revolutionary Military Affairs Commission and was admitted to the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee.

1945 Became member of CPC Central Committee and Politburo at the Seventh CPC National Congress.

1949 Became political commissar of the 2d Field Army (under Liu Bocheng).

1950 Assumed posts as first secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the military and political committee.

1952- Assumed posts as vice chairman of the Southwest Administrative Council, 54 CPPCC standing committee member, and member of the financial and economic commission of the State Council.

1954 With opening of NPC, assumed posts as vice premier of the State Council and vice chairman of the National Defense Commission.

1956 Assumed the post of general secretary restored at the Eighth CPC National Congress.

1960- Ranked third in the State Council, acted as premier during Chou Enlai's 65 visit abroad.

1966 Central Cultural Revolution Group was formed, central leading organs were reorganized, Deng still retained post as Standing Committee member of the Politburo but was later criticized during the cultural revolution and stepped down.

1973 Rehabilitated and assumed post as vice premier, attended the 10th CPC National Congress, and was elected member of the CPC Central Committee.

1974 Became member of CPC Central Committee Politburo.

1975 Became vice chairman of the CPC and chief of the general staff. Later became the spearhead of attack by the "gang of four" which stirred up the "counterattack against the rightist tendency of reversing the correct verdict."

1976 Zhou Enlai passed away in January. In April, Deng, who was accused of being the behind-the-scenes backer of the Tiananmen Square Incident on 5 April, was removed from all posts both inside and outside the party. Hua Guofeng assumed the premiership. Mao Zedong passed away in September; the downfall of the "gang of four" was announced in October.

1977 The 3d Plenum of the 10th CPC Central Committee restored Deng's original posts.

## II. Bringing Order out of Chaos and Reform

1977 The 3d Plenum of the 10th CPC Central Committee resotred Deng. The core of the leadership composed of Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, and Wang Dongxing was formed at the 11th CPC National Congress.

1978 Deng defeated the "whatevers clique" at the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Hu Yaobang entered the Politburo.

Economic management power was delegated to the lower level and the contract system was introduced in the countryside.

1979 The Fourth CPC Politburo meeting was held, Zhao Ziyang entered the Politburo. Experiments on expanding the decision-making power were carried out in over 1,000 enterprises across the country and plans were introduced to establish special zones in Shenzhen and other places.

1980 At the Third Session of the Fifth NPC, Zhao Ziyang replaced Hua Guofeng as premier. The "gang of four" went on trial.

The rural contract responsibility system was strengthened, the state enterprises experimented with the system to replace profit delivery with tax payment and the responsibility to assume one's profit and loss.

1981 The 6th Plenum of the 11th CPC Central committee made a limited assessment of Mao Zedong's historical role and established the Deng-Hu-Zhao leadership.

Zhao Ziyang proposed the restructuring of the economic system at the Fifth NPC.

1982 At the 12th CPC National Congress, Deng became Standing Committee member of the CPC Central Committee's Politburo, chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, and chairman of the Military Commission.

The 12th CPC National Congress decided on the principle of economic reform, with the planned economy playing the leading role and market regulation assuming the supplementary role, and put forward the goal of quadrupling the nation's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the turn of the century.

1983 Deng was appointed chairman of the State Military Commission at the Sixth NPC.

Trial implementation of the system to replace profit delivery with tax payments was carried out in state enterprises on the whole, the State Council issued a directive granting the right of economic autonomy to Hainan Island.

1984 Deng inspected Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Xiamen SEZ's and decided to open 14 coastal cities.

The 3d Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the decision on reform of the economic structure and on carrying out urban reform.

1985 The party national conference made arrangements for new successors and put forth the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CAREER OF NEW DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF XU HUIZI DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 103, Feb 86 pp 50-51

[Article by Tang Zongxia [9781 1350 0204]: "Is Xu Huizi [1776 8396 3320], the Newly Emerged Military Man, Related to Marshall Xu?"]

[Text] A relatively unknown Chinese military man Xu Huizi [1776 8396 3320] became deputy chief of staff in March of this year. He has suddenly become the number-two man in the General Staff Department and has attracted much attention.

This writer recently visited friends in China, came into contact with friends in the military and political fields in Beijing and Liaoning, and unexpectedly came across some information on this new personality. I would like to share this information with the readers.

Xu and Marshall Xu Are Neither Close Friends Nor Relatives

Mr A, my friend in Beijing who serves in the Chinese army, introduced me to Mr L in Liaoning and we got together with several friends who know Xu well.

When this writer mentioned that certain overseas "well-informed" sources had attributed the rapid promotion of Xu Huizi to the fact that he was Marshall Xu's son, it caused quite an outburst of laughter, especially from Mr W, who was Xu's close friend. He laughed and said: "Ridiculous!"

Mr W explained that "Marshall Xu is from Wutai County, Shanxi, while Xu Huizi is from Penglai, Shandong; they cannot be blood relatives. Both of Xu Huizi's parents are from Shandong; his father's name is Xu Chanan [1776 2052 1869]. When Xu Huizi was 9, the whole family moved to Dandong (called Andong at that time) in Liaoning near the Korean border. They have lived there most of their lives."

The hefty Xu is 1.79 meters tall and weighs 180 jin. Last July, while accompanying Hu Yaobang to Xinjiang for an inspection, he was seen wearing just a shirt under his uniform on top of a 10-meter-high watch tower at over 3,700 meters above sea level in force of eight or nine winds; other men felt cold even in heavy woolen jackets.

## Over 30 Years of Military Life

According to one of my friends who has served many years in the Chinese army, Xu is "an old infantry man." Before he came to the General Staff Department, he had led a military life for 36 years in an elite army. He is well experienced in combat and as a leader of the troops.

My friend went on to talk about Xu with enthusiasm. Xu Huizi enlisted in Shengyang in 1942 when he was only 16. In the army, he held a succession of jobs: soldier, clerk, deputy political instructor, political instructor, club supervisor of the regiment, and assistant in the youth department of the political department of the regiment. During the latter part of the War of Liberation, he took part in the storming of heavily fortified Tianjin and Wugang, Hunan. During the Korean war, he took part in the Unsan blockade, the Yong Pyon offense and the Imjin River assault, the deep-thrust battle in Hakkoki Li, and the mobile defense warfare in Chunchon; he took part in positionnal defense and anti-disembarkment in Cholsan Peninsula on the west coast of Korea and in Sunannan area anti-airdrop missions. In August 1956, he enrolled in the basic training department in the Nanjing Advanced Military Academy and was a member of the sixth session of the department.

In 1955 Xu began his military command career. He rose through the ranks, from section chief of the regiment's military training section to deputy section chief of the military training department's military science research section to deputy director of the military training department, director of the military reconnaissance department, division deputy chief of staff, division chief of staff, deputy division commander, division commander, and finally army commander. From 1973 on, and for the next 5 years, Xu was in charge of compiling a military history and reference of famous campaigns. According to Xu, he learned more in those 5 years than he ever had during his enrollment at the military academy's basic training in the fifties.

Xu has written several prominent treatises on combined military actions, including "Exploring Counter-encirclement Mobile Warfare Under Nuclear Conditions." In his everyday military command, he pays special attention to any new conditions that may arise during training, and he has attempted bold experiments on reforms in military training. He has conducted several field battalion defense maneuvers and combined army, division, and regimental assault maneuvers. When he was deputy division commander, he conducted battalion defense demonstration exercises for the whole field army system. In 1983, when he became army commander, he conducted anti-airdrop and counter-encirclement maneuvers under nuclear war situations with the army and division command organs. Last year, he conducted the combined military maneuvers of the army, division, and regiment ranking offices and with troops from two regiments. These maneuvers emphasized the study of the command, coordination, logistics, and technical safeguards of the group army. His article "Exploring Combined Military Actions" was published in MILITARY SCIENCE and evoked broad responses.

## Be Able To Do What One Requires Others To Do

Upon returning to Beijing, this writer again spoke with an experienced military reporter about Xu Huizi. That reporter's assessment was that "Xu has

all the qualities of a good soldier: he is resolute and steadfast, strict and disciplined." Xu is always strict with his own comportment: even in the coldest weather he would not be found with his hands in his pockets; he always has his white gloves with him; and his uniform is always immaculate. His principle is that "I will not ask others to do what I cannot do." He always demands of himself that he "never put off what must be done today." Therefore, he always reminds his aide that all emergencies must be reported immediately, even if meals or sleep has to be interrupted.

To illustrate Xu's friendly personality, my reporter friend said: One time Xu joined the soldiers in a game of poker while visiting the company; they even shared some cigarettes together. On another occasion, while he was in the frontline in Yunnan, he crawled into the foxholes to chat with the soldiers, and once while he was visiting the frontier guards in the Xinjiang border sentry post on behalf of Hu Yaobang, he noticed a windowpane missing in the barracks and immediately ordered its repair. In 1975, after the earthquake in Yingkou, Xu Huizi worked alongside the soldiers to repair the houses and erect quakeproof shelters.

As for Xu Huizi's leisure time, "his main interest is in contemporary and ancient Chinese and foreign military books," and he has a large collection of them, including "Sunzi's Art of War", "On War," "Grand Strategy," "Military Psychology," "Anthology of Ancient and Contemporary Famous Battles in the World," "Group Army Campaigns," "An Account of West Germany's Turbulent Foreign Relations," "General Patton," "Biography of Napoleon," "MacArthur," and other books on contemporary military commanders and group army counter-offense tactics. When he moved from Liaodong to Beijing in March of this year, he brought six crates of books with him.

It was also disclosed that last July, when Xu accompanied Hu Yaobang to Xinjiang for inspections, Hu Yaobang suggested that Xu visit the border, the coastal frontlines, and the military bases more often. Hu asked: "Excluding this year, could you spend 3 years visiting all the border and coastal fronts?" Xu answered in the affirmative, but later he privately spoke of his plans to complete the task in 2 years.

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EAST REGION

MA HONG ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN PLANNED COMMODITY ECONOMY

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Ma Hong [7456 3163]: "Ideological and Political Work in a Planned Commodity Economy Environment"; first paragraph is source supplied introduction]

[Text] Editors note: A major issue now facing us is how to conduct ideological and political work in the environment of a planned commodity economy. In this article Comrade Ma Hong makes a detailed analysis of the changes brought about in all areas by the development of a socialist commodity economy and suggests three areas in which we should strengthen ideological and political work. These views are worth reading by interested comrades.

Our country is now facing a new era of major developments in the socialist economy. The countryside is progressing from self-reliance and partial self-reliance toward a commodity economy; the cities are transforming their production economy into a commodity economy. Under these conditions, the tasks that we carry out in the construction of socialist material culture and socialist spiritual culture are all closely united to the development of the commodity economy.

During these several years of practice, we have deeply felt that the developments in the socialist commodity economy have not only elicited major changes in the operating mechanisms in our national economy, the change from the old to new operating mechanisms in our economy brought about frequent contradictions and clashes in our economic life, which have been manifested in disharmony; the exchange of old ideological concepts for new ones also caused various contradictions and eruptions in the people's thought, even bringing about a certain amount of chaos. Resolving the former is an important task facing the reforms to the economic system; resolving the latter is an important issue facing ideological and political work. Only through the proper resolution of issues in these two areas will we be able to guarantee that the commodity economy will follow a socialist, planned direction of healthy development.

In the environment of a socialist, planned commodity economy our ideological and political work impinges upon many issues. This discussion emphasizes three areas.

1. Sincerely carry out analyses, make accurate evaluations and pointedly carry out ideological and political work concerning the changes in ideological concepts engendered by the development of the socialist planned commodity economy as well as the conflicts and clashes generated in people's thoughts by the replacement of old concepts with new ones.

Our socialist commodity economy was developed on the foundation of a self reliant and semi-self reliant economy and a production economy. The establishment of the responsibility system linking village household contracts to planned production, the development of the specialized households, and the changes in the state's system and tactics of overall management of the rural economy enabled the township and town enterprises to establish independent commodity producers and managers; there were great developments in the village social division of labor, and the law of value has played an increasingly greater role in the development of the rural economy. The urban industrial and commercial enterprises as well as the other enterprises gradually became relatively independent economic entities, with a certain amount of administrative and managerial autonomy and corresponding economic benefits, they moreover followed the profound developments of the reforms and gradually moved towards autonomous management and responsibility for profits or losses. The broad scope of the urban economy uses a commodity and currency form with market adjustments, and these, together with the increased competition between enterprises, have caused the gradual strengthening of the role of the law of value in the urban economy. These changes in economic life have brought about increasingly greater attacks on some traditional concepts which were formed under the natural economy and the production economy. The new concepts of value, the marketplace, competition, time, efficiency, profit, human talent and information, all of which are suited to the socialist commodity economy, gradually became established and strengthened in the people's thought. The formation and establishment of these new concepts played an enormous role in the liberation of the people's thought, in the transformation of the people's spiritual condition, in the stimulation of the people's sharp will to progress and in the opening up of their creativity; they also played a great role in the development of our production forces. We must have adequate understanding of the positive factors brought by these new concepts. Our socialist commodity economy, whether urban or rural, is not in a developed stage at this time. Overcoming the traditional concepts formed during the long period under the natural economy and the production economy and the establishment of concepts which are suited to the development of the socialist commodity economy still are major tasks in our ideological and political work.

What still cannot be ignored is that the socialist commodity economy still is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership of the means of production, but the laws which control its activities still include the general laws of commodity economics, which include the law of value. Consequently, the negative factors of blindness and spontaneity found in a commodity economy still exist. Socialism's public ownership system, planning and the limited scope of commodities provide the potential of controlling the negative factors of blindness and spontaneity. In order to turn this potential into reality it is necessary to have a scientifically planned foundation, the capability of powerful overall indirect controls, complete and flexible

adjustment mechanisms, high caliber management personnel, and so on. All of this is difficult to complete in a short period, so that the negative factors of blindness and spontaneity in the commodity economy still can repeatedly emerge in the process of economic changes, creating problems and even spreading unchecked. Joined together with this are the concepts of the rejection of state planning, the one-sided pursuit of enterprise profits, the disregard of state interests and even the erosion of the foundation of the state, an attitude of "all out in the interest of money," bringing harm to the people's interests, resorting to deception and damaging the consumers' interests. These also could spread unchecked. In recent years, the party and society have manifested unhealthy tendencies, many of which are related to this. The above mentioned concepts are incompatible with socialist concepts and permitting them to develop will lead socialism down the wrong path. Consequently, a major task is the application of correct socialist economic concepts and the application of communist ideals to overcome incorrect concepts.

It is necessary to have a correct understanding of a socialist commodity economy; it is necessary to clearly distinguish the basic differences between a socialist commodity economy and a capitalist commodity economy; and it is necessary to clearly distinguish the differences between a commodity economy under a socialist system and a commodity economy under a capitalist social system. In order to correctly understand the relationships of the benefits and harm of developing a socialist planned commodity economy it first is necessary to see that the complete development of a commodity economy is an inescapable stage in socialist economic development. In the present historical stage the complete development of a planned commodity economy is a mandatory path to follow in accomplishing the construction of socialism and communism. All the same, we cannot overlook those corrupt practices, because they after all have the general harsh characteristics of a commodity economy, so we ought to undergo a strengthening of ideological and political work and strive to promote the benefits and eliminate the harm. Some comrades suggest that on the one hand we must affirm the positive role of a planned commodity economy in quickening the economy and enlivening ideology, and on the other hand we must clearly point out its spontaneity and blindness as well as the danger of the principle of commodity exchanges invading political life. This means opposition to the idealization of a planned commodity economy and overlooking its very real corrupt practices; yet we cannot take its corrupt practices too seriously in the belief that they are the "source of all evil." In our ideological and political work we must oppose tendencies toward spontaneity, and perfumtoriness. We ought to sum up the successes of our party's traditional experiences and strengthen our foresight, alertness, sense of principle and and strengthen our exemplary behavior. These are the new challenges we have encountered in this period of developing a planned socialist commodity economy. In being confronted by these challenges each party cadre must strengthen his spiritual preparedness and self awareness for party nature training. These views are excellent and quite inspirational.

2. Because of changes in the ownership structure and the distribution system, we must be specially alert to any resultant contradictions and conflicts in the people's ideology regarding social financial holdings and the concept of

distribution, and correctly handle the economic benefit relations between the various economic elements, between the various interest groups, and between personnel of all types.

In undergoing 7 years of changes in the economic system, the ownership system of our country has experienced major changes: (1) the single structure of public ownership changed into a public ownership system with a variety of ownership structures, including a small number of non-socialist ownership factors; (2) the grade-rank system of the form of ownership has already changed and begun to form a long-term structure of the co-existence of a variety of economic forms of a mainly public ownership system; (3) many developments have taken place in the collective and whole people types of public ownership, in the whole people ownership system there are enterprise ownership and individual ownership elements, and in the collective ownership system there is the element of individual ownership; (4) within the collective and whole people ownership systems great changes have already taken place, the rural collectives already have the separation of ownership rights and managerial rights, while the whole people ownership system is already making a suitable separation; (5) the production of new ownership forms--the joining of different ownership systems, as well as joint Chinese-foreign integrated economics.

In conjunction with the changes in the ownership structure, the distribution system also is now carrying out changes. In terms of all of society, distribution according to labor is the core of the distribution system, however, some elements unrelated to distribution according to labor have already appeared. In terms of economic elements of all types, the distribution system has produced obvious discrepancies. In the change from the workpoint system to the system of allocation calculated according to production there was better representation of distribution according to labor, but with the development of the individual economy, there was a gradually growing tendency toward elements unrelated to distribution according to labor and discrepancies in the level of well-being appeared. The whole people ownership system enterprises have carried out a wage system in which the enterprises and the staff and workers participate in the profit distribution with the income of the staff and workers tied to the good or bad operation of the enterprise. These new forms of distribution according to labor are beneficial in stimulating enterprise and worker enthusiasm, but they have exacerbated the contradiction between the enterprises and the state and have increased the contradictions between stores and between enterprises. The development of the individual economy complements the economic inadequacies of the socialist ownership system and it has enlivened marketplace circulation, but the excessively high income of a few people has created a form of social inequity and aroused dissatisfaction among the people. The promotion of contracts and leasing and the occurrence of private individuals hiring workers has promoted economic development, but it also has brought about excessive differences in the distribution of the contractors and lessors and that of the staff and workers and the distribution of the private enterprise owners and that of the staff and workers. The state organ cadres carried out a structured wage system which helped to strengthen the organ work responsibility system, but it also caused some contradictions among the cadres and the enterprise staff and workers.

The above mentioned reforms suit the needs for the development of our country's multi-level production force structure and for the development of the commodity economy, they have greatly strengthened the people's concept of material benefits and smashed the long dominant status of the egalitarianism of eating from the common pot. This unquestionably is a historical step forward. However, precisely because of the smashing of egalitarianism, there cannot help but be some discrepancies in the people's distribution and actual livelihood, moreover, following the progressive development of the commodity economy, these discrepancies for a certain period of time will continually widen. According to the principle of distribution according to labor, if the distribution maintains a certain level of discrepancy the people can accept it, but if the discrepancy is too great society will exhibit the unequal distribution and this will definitely cause various contradictions in the people's thoughts and views, it could even make them puzzled about and suspicious of the trends in the development of socialism. What especially cannot be overlooked is that economic benefits will accrue to enterprises and individuals, and if strong regulations and restrictions are not carried out this could possibly lead to the onesided pursuit of enterprise and individual benefits and consequently create contradictions and conflicts over economic benefits among the various ownership elements, among the various interest groups and among people of all types, thus bringing about social unrest.

The distribution issue is an extremely sensitive one which involves the personal concerns of the whole people, and with the addition of the element of prices of goods it becomes even more complex. The correct resolution of this issue depends on changes to the economic system, and at the same time also depends on ideological and political work. This ought to be given our special attention at this time.

3. Accelerate implementation of changes to the system of state power organs, truly achieve a separation of political and enterprise responsibilities, discontinue further direct connections between the institutions of state power and state benefits in order to thoroughly exercise the function of the institutions of state power in managing the socialist commodity economy and prevent the commodity economy principle of exchange of equal values from making incursions into the political life of the party and the state.

With the development of the socialist commodity economy the enterprises became relatively independent commodity producers and managers with their own independent economic benefits. We must ensure that in their production and management activities the enterprises always follow the socialist path forward in the commodity economy, bring about the unity of micro and macro goals, realize the unity of enterprise interests and social interests, and make enterprise activities agree with the needs of the state for macro overall balance. The state must then formulate models of action for the enterprises and moreover must use various economic, legal and political tactics to effectively exercise management and supervision of the enterprises. To achieve this, the state management organs must strictly implement a separation of state and enterprise responsibilities, all of the country's party and political organs then cannot be directly involved in conducting production and management activities, and also cannot use their authority in scheming for

economic benefits on behalf of their own units or for any individuals. Otherwise, the leadership, management and supervision of the enterprise economic activities would become empty words.

However, what is not easily avoided is that for all levels of state organs which manage enterprises, quite a few are now directly managing their own marketing and supply companies along with other companies and they scheme to economically benefit their own units, and as for the other management organs, such as the administrative departments of taxation, pricing and the administration of industry and commerce they also have regulations permitting them to acquire a portion of the fines levied in the investigation of illegal cases, and this becomes a part of the income of the staff and workers of these units. They also can take advantage of their authority to take cuts and accept bribes. It can be said without exaggeration that the incursion of the commodity economy principle of equal value of exchange into the political life of the party and state organs of authority already is a grim fact. If we continue to ignore it, and do not thoroughly correct this evil trend, carrying out a basic change for the better in party style and social practices will be very difficult, and there will be no way to thoroughly control some of the corrupt practices now evident in our state organs of authority.

Our party and state organs are faced with the following situation: the same leading cadre on the one hand are both communist party members and politicians; and on the other hand, are also enterprise administrators as well as officials having direct economic interests in the fortunes of those very enterprise. In their numerous economic activities, sometimes they act in departmental, local or enterprise interests and sometimes they act in their own interests, which throws the commodity economy general principle of exchange of equal values right into political life. The saying "the superior makes policy, while subordinates oppose policy," reflects this very situation. Of course, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis of the saying that "the subordinates oppose policy." Except for shortcomings in a very few policies the majority belong to actions which harm state interests and limit state supervision. Therefore, in the environment of a socialist commodity economy, the struggle between supervision and opposition to supervision is a long-term one. This actually is the struggle between a socialist planned commodity economy and a capitalist free economy.

In order to smoothly carry out construction of socialist material culture and spiritual culture, at the same time that we are strengthening ideological and political work we must accelerate the pace of reforming the state organs of authority, strengthening the legal system and strengthening the structure of supervision. We must institute highly concentrated leadership in some organs of economic management, such as taxation, auditing and statistics; formulate and promulgate "public servant laws" to provide the workers and personnel of state organs with rules to follow. At the same time, the economic organizations such as the supply and marketing companies under the state administrative organs should be made into independent enterprises so that the state administrative organs cannot have any further relations of direct economic benefit with such companies; the concerned departments should carry out their responsibilities without thought of reward and we should eliminate the system of dividing up the fines levied in the investigation of illegal

cases; we should strictly prohibit taking cuts and accepting bribes, and criminals should be severely punished. In short, we must undertake reforms and rectifications to enable our government to truly become one which is honest in performing official duties, and then our leadership and management of the socialist commodity economy will be even more powerful.

In developing the socialist commodity economy, we must, on the one hand, strengthen ideological and political work, which means to guarantee the construction of socialist material culture and also promote the construction of socialist spiritual culture; and on the other hand, we must hasten the reforms in the system of state political organs to truly attain a separation of the government and the enterprises in order to fully develop the role of the state organs of power in leading, managing and supervising the socialist commodity economy. In working along these two lines, we definitely will be able to bring about the healthy development of the socialist commodity economy and build a socialist modern nation having Chinese characteristics with a public ownership system, a sharing of the wealth, equal development of both cultures.

11582

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EAST REGION

IMPORTANCE OF LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI [SOCIETY] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 85 p 60

[Article by Wu Ziniu [2976 1311 3662]: "The Issue of Night Life Should Be Discussed"]

[Text] The term "night life" is a concept familiar to the Chinese, especially young people. Actually, it is a busy stretch in our lives. Just think: When the lights are first turned on, what are you and your family doing? Studying at the night university, chatting with a close friend over cups of wine, forgetting yourself in the theater, the river of Chu, and the frontier of Han, before the flowers and under the moon, enjoying the family before the silver screen.... How pleasant and joyful! The Chinese people have a night life.

"Night life" is an alien concept to China's young people, because it was theoretically a forbidden zone for a long time. Perhaps it is difficult to ascertain just when it was started and who proposed it, but anyhow, many people have a concept in their minds: night life = bourgeois life, bourgeois life = human desires run rampant. Thus, certain books vociferously discussing materialism avoid this broadest realm of life outside the 8 hours, and certain treatises vigorously advocating the dialectical unity of diversity steer clear of the diversity of man. But the times overcome prejudices, and science replaces ignorance. Young people are no longer so easily "controlled," and leisure life grows more "chaotic." Many teachers, parents, and political-ideological workers think of theories and wish to "draw the line," Little do they know that certain theories in our social sciences have also encountered an adverse destiny. Sociology is in the course of revival, and many people still fail to understand the value of its existence. Hegel declared: Familiarity is not true knowledge. I say that our young people's night life is still in the spontaneous phase, and discussion is the cognitive bridge leading from spontaneity to consciousness.

"Night life" is most important to young people. Many people have discussed the multiple levels and aspects of the characteristics of the contemporary young, but seldom has anyone asked this question: Under what circumstances are these characteristics unfolded? I feel that if modern mass production "synchronizes" people in the daytime, then night life diversifies them. Think of Liu Sijia's counter-question to Jie Jing! Doesn't the artist imaginatively and incisively reveal to us that, if diversity is not properly handled, there

can be no "synchrony"?! Everyday we discuss education and dredging, resistance, and occupation. In that case, doesn't the young people's night life, which actually exists, deserve serious attention? Conversely, have not the false steps, degeneration, and crimes of many young people occurred precisely in this time and space? How can materialists fear the "night life" concept and refuse to look at the facts squarely?

When it comes to serious attention, there are several ways. The simplest way is to issue bans. I feel that, in case of necessity, some administrative orders are perfectly justified. However, when they become excessive and indiscriminate, it may antagonize the young people and alienate their feelings for the party and the state. Haven't there been many instances of banning and lifting, lifting and banning? Dredging is better than blocking, education is better than control. If we can launch discussions on the "night life" issue, we will be able to integrate closely the issue of living style with the development of young people's individuality. Furthermore, as such discussions can be seen, touched, and participated in by young people, they will produce more practical benefits than theoretical debates.

I would like to borrow a corner of your publication and advocate the discussion of "night life."

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EAST REGION

CRIME IN SHENZHEN, ZHUHAI DISCUSSED

Shanghai SHEHUI [SOCIETY] in Chinese No 4, 20 Aug 85 pp 8-11

[Article by Li Dongming [0632 2639 2494]: "Crime in the Shenzhen and Zhuhai Special Economic Zones"]

[Text] With the tremendous changes in the urban, population, and economic features of today's Shenzhen and Zhuhai special economic zones, changes are also occurring in the phenomenon of crime, which is closely linked with other social phenomena and manifests itself in an obvious manner. The crime rate is higher than in areas other than special zones, especially smuggling and other offenses against socialist economic construction. These rates are several times higher.

I

After their designation as special economic zones, changes in the following aspects have occurred in the social structure of Shenzhen and Zhuhai:

Types of ownership: Previously there were only three types of ownership of the means of production, namely, ownership by the whole people collective, and a small number of individual entrepreneurs. Since then, joint ventures and foreign-owned enterprises have been added, and their proportions are fairly high.

Rapid population growth: Previously, Shenzhen had only a population of 20,000 but by the end of 1984, it had increased to more than 300,000. Among them, the number of regular settled residents is somewhat smaller than that of resident personnel from out-of-town units. In addition, there are several thousand resident foreigners in industry and commerce. The additional 300,000-plus population came from all areas of the country, and their origins are fairly complex.

Rapid growth in the number of entries and departures: Bordering on Hong Kong and Macao, Shenzhen and Zhuhai are the main ports for China's intercourse with the outside world and for visits by overseas Chinese. Many foreigners coming for visits, sightseeing, and business enter and depart through the two special zones. Since Shenzhen became a special zone, the number of entries and departures has shown an average annual increase of

more than 1 million. The total in 1984 more than doubled that of 1979. Moreover, thousands of automobiles come and go each day on Shenzhen's Wenjin Ferry.

Rapid growth in the number of out-of-towners: The large volume of capital construction, numerous new enterprises, and constant domestic and foreign trade since Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones have attracted a large number of out-of-towners to contract for projects, make business contacts, observe and learn, and take pleasure trips and see the sights. There are, for instance, close to 100,000 transients of all types. In addition, more than 100,000 foreigners of all levels of status have visited Shenzhen since 1979. Since Zhuhai became a special zone, several hundred construction teams from other areas, numbering more than 10,000 persons, have come each year to contract for projects. Moreover, there have been several hundred thousand tourists coming to Zhuhai every year.

Improvement in the standard of living: Since Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, the reform and the open-door policy have promoted a soaring economy, and the standard of living has generally improved, surpassing areas other than the special zones. Shenzhen's 1984 gross national product of 1.95 billion yuan constituted an increase of 2.7 times over that of 1980, at an average annual growth rate of 46.9 percent, and the national per-capita income exceeded \$1,000. The peasant's per-capita income about tripled and the workers' per-capita wage income more than doubled those of 1979. The people's standard of living has reached a "comfortable level."

Changes in both material and spiritual lives: Televisions are fairly commonplace. In a survey of 1,000 households, 856 owned televisions, including 544 colored sets. There was a "Hong Kong television fad" a few years ago. Hong Kong's television channels usually show commercially sponsored programs. To attract viewers, some programs often replace artistry with stimulation, especially those "unsuitable for children," and spread violence and pornography. Some progressive people in Hong Kong also feel that such programs produce an undesirable influence on Hong Kong's young. More than 100,000 students in Hong Kong, for instance, have connections with the underworld, frequently imitate its language, and worship its magnates and professional killers as heroes. These are all directly linked with television propaganda.

As a result of their constant contact with Hong Kong television programs and Hong Kong-Macao visitors, at one time some young people in the special zones followed the "Hong Kong-Macao fad" in living styles, indiscriminately copying its social and recreational patterns and manner of dressing, regarding pornographic and obscene things as fashionable, and worshipping violence, sex, and money.

Changes in social supervision: The main changes in the social supervision structures of the two special zones are as follows: A considerable number of enterprises have either eliminated the ideological-political educational and public security structures, or have cut down on the staff and left them as empty shells. Though the forms and systems customarily followed in China posed many problems to the special zones, such structures, as the

basic parts of social supervision, played a gigantic role. Their elimination has placed social supervision under the elimination of objective conditions to a certain extent. Nevertheless, there is indeed an urgent issue requiring earnest study: due to the different natures and management methods of joint ventures and foreign-owned enterprises, the way social supervisory structures followed in China are set up will not work. We should innovate in the course of reform and opening up and try to find through practice new ways compatible with the demand of China's socialist construction and suitable to the practical conditions of the enterprises.

According to general understandings, the social supervision system consists of customary, or moral, compulsory or administrative (regulations and systems), and legal norms. In Shenzhen and Zhuhai, joint ventures and foreign-owned enterprises are of a different nature and follow Western management methods, and they form a large proportion. Furthermore, resident personnel coming from countries and regions of different social systems generally have a fairly high social standing. China's policies and law stipulate that, provided the rights of our state and citizens are not infringed, we will not interfere in their observance of customary bourgeois moral and legal norms. However, we cannot deny that, in the course of living among us over an extended time, such objective factors as their position and number and their moral and legal concepts cannot but exert a certain influence on those around them. This is one aspect of the changes in the moral and legal concepts in the special zone's social supervisory system. Another aspect is that in the course of reform and opening up, some management systems, especially economic and legal systems, are incomplete. They fail to keep pace with the reform of the economic system and the development of the national economy. In many instances, there are often no rules and regulations to follow. Therefore, it is impossible for the social supervision structures to play their proper roles. In fact, many law violators and criminals avail themselves of the loopholes to act.

## II

The foregoing is an analysis of the changes in the social phenomena of the two special zones in terms of sociology. Nevertheless, according to sociology, social phenomena in a human society are not isolated but are interlinked and interacting. In that case, what is the influence of the changes in social phenomena on crimes in the special zones and what are the consequences? My personal view is that the social changes discussed above have led to the following changes in crime in the two special zones:

A. Smuggling has grown extremely widespread and tends to become collectivized and modernized. Since Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, smuggling has become extremely widespread, reaching a peak in 1981 and 1982. After a drastic crackdown, the number of incidents of smuggling has somewhat dropped. However, today's smuggling activities tend to become collectivized, and the means modernized. The offenders in a large number of these cases utilized the changes in the forms of ownership and population structure to commit crimes.

1. They utilize the transport of raw material and products between the special zones and Hong Kong-Macao by company trucks to smuggle contraband. Their method of smuggling is to underdeclare the incoming freight overdeclare the outgoing, and ship raw materials inland for illegal resale, or to mix contraband with imported and exported raw materials and products and sneak it through customs. Contraband seized in recent years from trucks by Shenzhen's Wenjin Ferry customs constituted more than 50 percent of all contraband seized in the same period.
2. Coastal fishermen and border residents engage in smuggling by utilizing the opportunities of ocean fishing and migrant farming. According to current regulations, an individual in transit may carry tax-exempt articles of a value of 50 yuan or less five times per month, but actually many people exceed the limit every time. Some are bribed by smuggling gangs to carry such contraband as gold, silver, jewelry, cultural relics, drugs, and pornography. Under the pretense of hauling garbage and buying scrap in Macao, some Zhuhai peasants sneak all kinds of contraband for smugglers.
3. Taking advantage of the open-door policy, smuggling gangs act in collusion inside and outside and use modern transportation tools for contraband. In a previous period, some gangs in the Hong Kong-Macao area equipped themselves with several modern high-speed motorboats for use between Hong Kong-Macao and the two special zones. Members of the gangs drove automobiles to coordinate at prearranged spots. In recent years, their boats and vehicles have been intercepted and seized many times by Chinese and Hong Kong-Macao anti-smuggling organs.

B. Such violent crimes as rape and robbery have increased on a large scale, and criminals follow the "Hong Kong-Macao style" modus operandi. Before Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, violent crime was rare. In recent years, their incidence has grown on a large scale. In 1983, for instance, the number of this type of case uncovered by the public security organs of the two special zones was several times that of 1979. Criminals imitate such abominable means often employed by Hong Kong-Macao criminals as wearing a mask to commit robbery, administering a love potion to the victim before rape, and so on. Hong Kong and Macao are cities where violent crimes are most rampant. In the first quarter of 1983, there were over 2,200 robberies. After Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, with their growing economic, cultural, and social contacts with the Hong Kong-Macao region, the criminal activities of the latter, seeping through channels of all kinds, are exerting an ever greater influence on the special zones. Hong Kong's television programs spreading pornography and violence and Hong Kong-Macao's yellow literature advocating reaping without sowing and philandering are inducing some young people in the special zones to develop a criminal consciousness. The tutoring and instigation on the part of Hong Kong-Macao criminals are also reasons for the "Hong Kong-Macao style" modus opernadi in the special zones. In addition, the changes in some social phenomena in the two special zones also constitute an important reason for the rise of violent crime. The general improvement of the standard of living, the large amount of cash in the hands of individuals, and the widespread presence of such expensive consumer goods as color televisions and recorders in every household serve as the material

conditions for the motives and targets of law violators. In the robbery of Shenzhen's Friendship Market by masked men, for instance, the criminals, becoming greedy over the daily collection of a gigantic sum of money in the cash room of the market, covered their faces and forced their way into the room in broad daylight, threatened the personnel with knives and tied them up, and took tens of thousand yuan of renminbi and foreign exchange certificates.

C. Foreign currency arbitrage activities have grown ever more open and large scale. The increase in joint ventures and foreign-owned enterprises, the growing number of Hong Kong-Macao people and foreigners in the special zones, the expanding circulation of foreign currencies and exchange certificates in the market, and the fairly large disparity between market and government rates of exchange of renminbi and foreign currencies have provided the conditions and potential for foreign currency arbitrage activities to become more open and large scale. Even some special zone state organs participate in them by means of speculation and falsifying accounts, and the amounts involved are growing ever larger. Some of them illegally bought tens of millions of Hong Kong dollars in 1 year. Thus, the green light is turned on for foreign currency criminals.

D. Hong Kong-Macao underworld social organizations infiltrate the special zones to engage in criminal activities. Before Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, the Hong Kong-Macao underworld social organizations seldom entered to commit crimes. After they became special zones and in the course of opening to the outside, the simplified transit procedures, the more favorable travel conditions, and the fairly large number of Hong Kong-Macao people and other out-of-towners have made it more convenient for activities of all kinds, especially the relative ease with which criminals escape back to Hong Kong and Macao and elude detection. Changes in objective conditions attracted the attention of Hong Kong-Macao's underworld social organizations, finding the special zones the ideal arenas for their activities. Reportedly the more active Hong Kong-Macao underworld organizations in recent years include "Shuifang," "14K," and "Heshenghe." After entering the special zones, their members are mainly involved in contraband, drugs, people smuggling, and robbery. For instance, five of the six criminals who robbed Shenzhen's Friendship Market on 10 July 1983, a case which created an uproar, were members of underworld organizations. Take another instance: recognizing the anxiety of people who fled to Hong Kong and Macao a few years ago to have their families join them as an opportunity to make a large profit, the underworld organizations made contacts inside and outside and organized people-smuggling gangs, charging several thousand to over HK\$10,000 per person. The gang organized by Mai and others and uncovered in Zhuhai in 1982 colluded with an underworld organization in Macao to smuggle people out of China. From January to April 1982, they successively sneaked into Zhuhai over 50 people wishing to leave China, used secret codes to notify the Macao underworld organization for motorboats at the rendezvous, and successively brought more than 30 people out of China.

E. The proportion of crimes committed by outsiders is high. The fairly large proportion of outsiders in Shenzhen's and Zhuhai's population

composition and the imperfection of the social supervision structures and rules and regulations have produced changes in the main body of crimes. Among the criminals arrested by Shenzhen's public security organs in recent years, for instance, half of them were outsiders. Their crimes committed in the two special zones are mainly of two categories: people coming to the special zones to perform work of a temporary nature, and out-of-town criminals infiltrating the special zones for criminal purposes. The branch concerned in Zhuhai discovered, for instance, that many members of the construction teams working on projects in Zhuhai had criminal records, and the proportion of fugitive from the law among all criminals arrested by Shenzhen's public security organs in 1984 almost doubled that of 1980.

F. The issue of economic crimes committed by insiders is serious, and the proportion of cases involving foreigners is on the rise. Since Shenzhen and Zhuhai became special zones, their political and legal branches have uncovered many cases of economic crimes involving personnel in state organs and enterprise units, and the proportion involving foreign businessmen is fairly high. Most of the criminals utilized the loopholes in social supervision in the course of opening to the outside and reform, for example, utilizing imperfections in the management systems and economic regulations, accepting bribes when discussing business with foreigners, acting in collusion inside and outside, and pursuing criminal activities detrimental to China's economic interest. Taking advantage of the ambiguities in the policies and regulations, Zhou, a responsible person of the Shenzhen branch of the China Electronics Import and Export Corporation, for instance, smuggled in, from 1980 to 1981, electronic products with a total value of over 20 million yuan, causing a tremendous loss to the state economy. The scale of his operation and the size of the amount involved were rarely seen since the founding of the nation.

### III

In short, the changes and tendencies of crimes in Shenzhen and Zhuhai are closely linked with the changes in other social phenomena in the course of opening to the outside and reform. Nevertheless, it does not mean that crimes are inevitable in the two special zones, nor do they constitute the main current of the changes in social phenomena. However, the criminal activities are very harmful to the construction of the special zones and have attracted the serious attention of the theoretical community and the branches doing practical work. Recently, after making many investigations and studies on the crime issue in the two special zones, some people made suggestions on control. They may be summarized as follows: (1) Strengthen political-ideological educational work focusing on patriotism and collectivism, give special attention to the socialist ethical and moral education of young people, and create political-ideological educational structures commensurate with the building of the special zones. (2) Strengthen the legal system and formulate special zone management laws. (3) Improve the professional skills of public security organs and customs and raise the modernization level of equipment. (4) Strengthen the residence management system and reinforce

the management of out-of-towners. (5) Set up enterprise-style security structures and provide contract service to joint ventures and foreign-owned enterprises. (6) Strengthen links with police organs in the Hong Kong-Macao region, combat jointly the criminal activities of underworld social organizations, and firmly suppress them.

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EAST REGION

CULTURAL HARMONY IN OPENING UP TO OUTSIDE AREAS

Shanghai SHEHUI [SOCIETY] in Chinese No 6, 20 Dec 85 p 37

[Article by Pan Jianxiong [3382 1696 7160]: "Some Views on Cultural Harmony"]

[Text] In recent years, after the opening up to the outside, the new academic "hot spots" of "cultural conflict" and "cultural harmony" have emerged and daily grown stronger. Many people discuss this same subject in a variety of ways, such as how to search out the best "points of harmony" between Eastern and Western cultures. However, when we read these articles an interesting phenomenon appears, for despite the motivation of these people to seek out "points of harmony" they actually always discover "points of conflict." Take, for example, Western individualism and our traditional principle of group primacy; the general concept of egalitarianism in modern society and the class consciousness of traditional society, and so on. This gives people the distinct impression that if we just overturn these "points of conflict" we then will have the "points of harmony" we now search for. If this truly were the case, we could then say that searching for "points of harmony" really is not too difficult, but our understanding still would not be greatly advanced. Just what is the key to this problem? I believe that this offers a new challenge to the theoretical orientation and thought structure of our cultural research.

The problem is that if we find a "point of harmony" and a matched pair to fuse, who can guarantee that this matched pair will definitely be mutually harmonious in their proposed "point of harmony"? Changes in cultural psychology are an exceedingly complex process, and are not like cooking a pot of beans, which if too salty can be sweetened with sugar, and if too bland can be flavored with salt, and if the salt and sugar are in balance, then it definitely will not be spicy. If we were to use the same method in the belief that traditional Chinese class consciousness was too conservative and that adding just a bit of the Western concept of general equality would neutralize it and make everything perfect, this simply would be too "magical." How would you make the addition? Who could guarantee that the results would fit together and not be like oil and water, so that even if placed in the same container they still would form two layers?

Actually, we have not eaten sparingly of this bitterness. In the previous period, for example, we realized that we had underestimated the people's

desire for material benefits and had obstructed the application of their creativity, so we fostered the slogan "achieve wealth and abundance." The consequences, however, were not as effective as we had hoped they would be. Our original hope was that by encouraging the people to pursue wealth and by stimulating their creative spirits they would create more material wealth. But the results clearly show that quite a few people took another path; they used opportunities and cleverness to speculate and gain even more wealth. In this way there was no appreciable growth in social wealth, but there were changes in the distribution for these wealthy people. In this fashion, although considerable wealth accrued to the rich households that were economically lively, it nonetheless caused a few problems. The mixture of "sugar" and "salt" produced a "spiciness," which shows the difference between social harmony and cooking beans.

From the above analyses we can extract this conclusion: the analysis of the important subject of "cultural conflicts" does not lie in seeking these "points of harmony," but rather lies in the search for a path and a methodology of cultural harmony. To state it more precisely, we are searching for a path of cultural renewal, a bridge which crosses from "cultural conflict" toward new "cultural balance." This means that we must jump out of our original thought structure and direction of thought. We must expand from the research on culture itself into the social mechanisms of cultural change and cultural adjustments. We must unite cultural research with social research, unite the process of social change with actual conditions of social conflict, and then unite the strategy for social development with the process of social policy making. This not only will make us have a stronger sense of reality about our theoretical research, it moreover will lead us to search out genuine theoretical "gaps." If we today still relied on a single-minded relativistic analysis of the superiorities and inferiorities of and the differences between Eastern and Western cultures, perhaps we would not need to far surpass our predecessors, and could simply use a few new terminologies.

11582  
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## DIMINISHED INFLUENCE OF SHANGHAI LITERARY CIRCLE DISCUSSED

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 14 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by: Jun Zhaizi [0689 2298 5261]; "Why the Diminished Influence of Shanghai Literary Circle on Society?"]

[Text] It must be acknowledged that middle age and young Shanghai writers have made a definite contribution to enable socialist literature to flourish. However, their influence has been slight and an investigation of the reasons for this reveals the following issues:

1. Middle aged and young writers are not forming new and influential "writers groups" with heightened interchange and the creation of new group foundations for surmounting areas of deficiency. At present, some fairly influential writers in other provinces are gradually gathering together in groups such as Ye Weilin [0673 5588 2651] and Gu Hua [0657 5478] of Hunan, Lu Wenfu [7120 2429 1133] and Gao Xiaosheng [7559 2556 5116] of Jiangsu, the middle aged writers Wang Meng [3769 5536] and Deng Youmei [6772 0645 2734] and the young writers Zhang Chengzhi [7022 2110 1807] and Chen Jiangong [7115 1696 0501] of Beijing all of whose spirit of joint inquiry is very great, whose creative thought is even more invigorating and whose power to make breakthroughs by heightened interchange is even stronger. Thus, among the Shanghai writers, there is a lack of this mood of mutual encouragement and inquiry into certain issues.
2. The theoretical thought, real life foundations and artistic preparations of middle aged and young writers are fairly weak, their deficiencies are fairly large. One group of the middle aged Shanghai writers are those who accompanied the troops south after Liberation, another group were worker-writers in the latter part of the 1950's. The young writers basically emerged after the smashing of the "Gang of Four". Ten years of turmoil gave rise to a general lowering in the literary standard among the youth and although they claim to be writers, the majority have never attended a university and they lack the necessary theoretical and artistic accomplishments. In the present age of great change, there are many phenomena that merit deep thought and determination, every idea needs to be surmounted by a newer one, but there is little exchange and interflow among middle aged and young writers of the Shanghai literary circle. The paucity of inquiry only exacerbates the difficulty of accepting new things, new thought and new trends.

3. New literary personages cannot emerge in batches. The literary and artistic productive forces have not been liberated at all and the work of discovering new persons in the creative fields has been severely lacking.

4. Middle aged and young writers are not getting their due attention, and the problems that exist in the creative conditions influences the entry into the realm of freedom. For example: the problem of artistic leave time. Although cooperation has enabled a system of artistic leave time to be implemented, writers must seek permission from their own units, and due to the problems with this, it causes people to be skeptical about the chances of their applications. The author of the "Blue Room", Cheng Nai-shan [4453 0035 3790], in recent years has been quite prolific. On numerous occasions he sought artistic leave with his unit turning him down each time. Of his monthly wage of 63 yuan, he could only take home 40 or 50 yuan due to the fact that he had to find a substitute teacher for his classes while he squeezed in time to write, until finally a responsible comrade intervened and resolved the situation.

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EAST REGION

#### NEW POLITICAL EDUCATION SYSTEM AT JIAOTONG UNIVERSITY

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 9 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Zhang Ziqiang [1728 5261 1730]: "Jiaotong University of Shanghai Reforms Its Students Ideological and Political Work; Establishes a Brand-New System, Implements a Two-way Channel; The Students Have a Strong Desire to Improve, Their Achievements are Outstanding and They Have Raised Their Organizational and Administrative Abilities"]

[Text] In implementing a two-way student ideological and political work ?, Shanghai's Jiaotong University has established systems for "Bi-weekly Talk" direct dialogues between leading cadres of the school and student representatives and for ideological work in all of the various departments while at the same time allowing students self-administration, self-education and participation in the school's administration.

In promoting administrative reform, the CPC Committee of Jiaotong University has made numerous reforms by regarding student ideological and political work as one phase of a systematic project. School leaders have set up a student work guidance committee to lead and coordinate schoolwide student work, arranged for teachers to be class leaders and tutors and progressively abolished the system of full-time political assistants. Also, they have mobilized the full time political work cadres to take care of the work of CPC and the CYL, and applied the ideological work going on in the cultivation of talent to all departments and programs making for a multi-directional permeation of the education.

Of primary importance is the creation of conditions for bringing about direct dialogue and the exchange of ideas and views on school work situations between school leaders and student representatives thus turning the above mentioned uni-directional channel into two-way channel and information exchange. Examples are school leaders promptly circulating work summaries for the previous term and the plans for the new term and discussing how to invoke the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates and implement Party Central Committee's decisions on educational system reform. Proposals by school representatives for strengthening the education of new party members and improving the management of the dining hall have also been met with acceptance. Aside from this, Jiaotong University has distributed 35 student work items to be carried out by the school's various departments such as stipulating that the

Dean's office will be responsible for recognizing three outstanding students, the work study program, and the school administrative office will be responsible for considering the ideas of students with regard to board and lodging

Jiaotong University is also boldly allowing students self-education and self-administration. Thirty two upper level and graduate level students who hold posts of party branch secretary and who are politically adroit and capable organizers and administrators are holding posts as assistants for lower-level students. In order to give full rein to the role of university students as master, the school has allowed student democratic administration appraisal meetings to be borne of the student body representative conference.

When problems arise between students, they will get together to work them out at the invitation of the school leaders. Furthermore, the school leaders are allowing the students to participate in the meetings held to address student work and students have a say in such important issues as reform of the scholarship system and dining hall management.

Jiaotong University is also exploring the many different avenues of student ideological and political work. For example: the school party committee is guiding the school Youth League in the use of consultative discussion and service for doing ideological work and has set up a friend and mentor consultation service center. Also, they are relying on experts and educators within the school and without in such areas as education, psychology, medicine, and law to apply scientific principles and tools to help the students glean even more knowledge about society and life and set up a correct world view.

A whole series of ideological work reform measures have already come to initial fruition. School-wide there are already 2,200 persons participating in the small party document study groups, and 392 students joined the party between October 1984 and July 1985. At present there are over 700 students who are party members, 10.23 percent of the school body. The students are diligent and determined, with excellent classroom discipline and academic achievement. They rank among the best on the nationwide exams for upper-level and graduate students. In this year's exam taken by graduate students of 8 different institutions nationwide, the students of Jiaotong University ranked first on the math exam. Their health and their organizational and administrative abilities have also improved.

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## WANG HUNING PROMOTED TO ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR

Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 6 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Zhang Chengjun [4545 2052 6874] in "Persons Contributing to the Four Modernizations" Section: "Persistently Socialist-Minded and Vocationally Proficient, Making Outstanding Contributions; At Just 20 Years of Age, His Works Are Translated Again and Again; Fudan University International Politics Department Makes an Exception in Promoting Wang Huning To Associate Professor"]

[Text] A most youthful associate professor has emerged from a Shanghai school of higher learning. This associate professor, specializing in political science, is the 29 year old Wang Huning of the political science research office of FuDan University's international politics department.

Wang Huning earned his master's degree 4 years ago. Upon his graduation, the department leader assigned him to the position of instructor for 1 year so he could resume his political science studies. He resolutely obeyed this organizational decision, engaging himself in new areas of specialization. Within 4 years he taught six courses on "contemporary Western political thought," two of which had never been offered by the department before and two others which were taught to graduate students. Later, a reorganization allowed him to make an intensive study of administration and management which he willingly accepted. While undertaking his educational work, Wang Huning also accepted an organizational assignment, holding the posts of both political assistant and class head concurrently for 3 and a half years. Because of his outstanding work achievements, he has successively been selected as a nation-wide New Long March Shock-Worker and the Outstanding Young Teacher of Shanghai Municipality.

At the International Political Institute's 13th world convention held in Paris in mid-July of this year, a special conference attended by scholars from such countries as China, Canada, the U.S., France, Great Britain and Yugoslavia addressing 'The Institutional Changes in the PRC in Recent Years' saw the dissertations presented by three Chinese scholars receive an enthusiastic response. One of these was Wang Huning's report on "Changes in China's Rural Administrative System in Recent Years." This was the first time China's political institute had formally taken part in the international political science world conference and Wang Huning was one of the two youngest representatives present. Following the conclusion of his dissertation, professors

and scholars from France's political institute and Paris' top university sought him out to effectuate an academic exchange. The conference chairman, Professor [Baideji] of Canada, mentioned that he had selected Wang Huning's report to be one of five dissertations chosen for printing into book form and publication in the United States.

A close integration of social reality coupled with keen inquiry and close inspection of issues are the hallmarks of Wang Huning's political science research. He used his leave time or practice teaching opportunities to go to various suburbs, counties and rural areas of Jiangsu and Shanghai to conduct interviews and investigations in writing his ten-thousand-plus character work "A Cybernetic Study of the Great Changes in Rural Political Administration." After the work was published in the magazine 'Social Science Front' it caught the eye of the academic community. Wang Huning has also researched major political issues at home and abroad from a scientific angle, collaborating with associate professor Wang Bangzuo [3769 6721 0146] of his department in writing "One Country, Two Systems and the Relationship Between Sovereignty and Political Rights" which has caught the attention of the scholarly community with its unique views and the main excerpts of which were printed in a lead story in HUASHENGBAO overseas edition.

Wang Huning graduated from middle school in 1972, and without an undergraduate university diploma, was admitted directly into the postgraduate research program. The political science research office chairman Wang Bangzuo ordinarily pays special attention to his development and use. Wang Huning has already become the youngest member of the 90-some-odd member China Political Institute, he is the youngest member of the editorial board of the first edition of China's "Political Science Dictionary" jointly compiled by some 10-odd institutes, colleges and schools, he is one of the three chief editors of the soon to be published "Essentials of Political Science" and at the same time he took part in the compilation of the seven volume treatise "Dictionary of Socialism." In recent years his published works have totaled over one million characters, including translations in French and English as well as educational reference materials. He has been fostered and developed completely through our nation's teacher force and last year gloriously entered the CPC. Fudan University, department leaders and professors feel that despite Wang Huning's lack of qualifications and record of service, he has persisted in a socialist-minded and vocationally proficient direction, and his achievements are outstanding. The university's promotion committee has made an exception and promoted him to associate professor.

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EAST REGION

JPRS-CPS-86-033  
25 April 1986

BRIEFS

CPC MEETING HELD FOR NONPARTY PERSONAGES--Yesterday afternoon in the assembly room of the JinJiang Hotel, the Shanghai Municipality CPC Committee held its "Biweekly Symposium", conveying the gist of the National Conference of party delegates to leaders of all democratic parties and associations of industry and commerce in Shanghai. The CPC Committee Secretary for Shanghai Municipality Rui Xingwen [5360 2622 2429], along with assistant secretaries Jiang Zemin [3068 3419 3046] and Yang Dixiang [2799 1029 0686] gave those present at the meeting a general account of the National Conference of Party Delegates, and conveyed to them the main gist of the Conference. Also, they discussed gaining knowledge from study of conference documents and hoped that everyone would grasp the important points, integrate them into reality, earnestly study the documents and put forth more proposals for improving the work in Shanghai. In attendance at the meeting were the following leaders of the democratic parties, municipal associations of industry and commerce and concerned peoples organizations: Wu Ruohan [0702 5387 1344], Tang Junyuan [0781 0689 6678], Wu Wengqi [0702 2429 4388], Chen Mingshan [7115 6900 3790], Lin Tianlie [2651 3944 3525], Liang Yushu [2733 3768 2579], Lin Chaoquan [2651 2600 2938], Yuan Suishan [5913 7151 0810], Song Ruike [1345 3843 3748] and Zhang Jiashu [7022 0159 2885]. [Text] [Shanghai WENHUI BAO in Chinese 8 Oct 85 p 1] 13072/12955

CSO: 4005/341

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

LIU ZHENGWEI SPEAKS AT RELIGIOUS WORK CONFERENCE

HK290733 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 27 Mar 86

[Text] Yesterday morning [27 March], at the closing ceremony of the provincial conference on religious work, Liu Zhengwei, deputy secretary of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee, emphatically pointed out: CPC committees and government organizations at all levels must further strengthen leadership over religious work, continuously and firmly grasp the implementation of the party's policies toward religion, and make still greater contributions toward the four modernizations and the great cause of the unification of our motherland.

Liu Zhengwei said: Over the past few years, our province has seriously implemented the party's policies toward religions, enhanced understanding of the importance of religious work, reversed verdicts on grievances, trumped-up cases, and miscarriages of justice affecting people in religious circles, and solved the problems left over from history. In the aspect of implementing the policies toward religions, it has made arrangements for sites for religious activities, solved the problems of the self-support of some religious organizations, and at the same time, trained a number of young patriotic religious workers. Religious organizations and some temples, mosques, and churches have provided services for production, done social and public welfare work, and made certain contributions toward our province's four modernizations.

As for the problems existing in our province's religious work, Liu Zhengwei said: Regarding religious problems, some comrades are still affected by leftist ideological influence and take a laissez-faire attitude. They set the implementation of the party's policies toward religion against the building of the two socialist civilizations. Thus, this has directly affected the correct and all-round implementation of the party's policies toward religion. We must seriously study the spirit of the relevant documents of the central authorities and unceasingly heighten understanding of the importance of religious work.

He said: The fundamental starting point and underlying objective in our implementation of the party's policy on freedom of religious belief and in our dealing with all religious problems are to unite all people who profess religion and those who do not, and to concentrate their will and energy for the target of building a powerful modern socialist country.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

LIN RUO CALLS FOR BETTER PARTY NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTION WORK

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by: Ceng Huicun [2582 1920 1307]: "Comrade Lin Ruo Speaks Highly of the Experiences of Sanshui County; He Hopes Better Party Newspaper Distribution Work Will Be Carried Out in All Locales Throughout the Province"]

[Text] Following a 10 November report printed in the NANFANG RIBAO and the GUANGDONG NONGMIN BAO concerning a stepped up effort at party newspaper distribution by CPC Committees at all levels in Sanshui County bringing about an enormous rise in distribution of the party newspaper in that county, reporters interviewed the provincial party committee secretary Lin Ruo [2651 5387] and asked him to state his opinion on the experiences of Sanshui County, what can be confirmed and what things would be worthy of reference for other areas.

Comrade Lin Ruo said: "I have seen both the report on the work done to better distribute newspapers in Sanshui County and the talk given by Sanshui County CPC Committee Secretary Chen Jia [7115 0163]. These great efforts by the county CPC Committee to better distribute the party newspaper are really good. The party newspaper is a powerful instrument for building spiritual civilization. Party newspaper distribution work was conducted in the past but was lacking considerably. Many places were not served by postal routes and numerous work items and projects were lagging behind. Thus, the potential for newspaper distribution is still very great. It is vital that newspaper distribution work be carried out. In the party newspaper, the cadres and the masses can see the general and specific party policies, understand matters of national interest, gain much knowledge and understand what the party advocates and what it opposes. Comrade Chen Jia was correct, at present we are unable to hold the large and frequent meetings between cadres and the masses as was done in the past. We must use the party newspaper to carry out political and ideological work. Just like what is being done by party committees at all levels in Sanshui County, encouraging, organizing and facilitating subscription and reading of the paper by the masses, entrenching the party newspaper in both town and country, not allowing unhealthy small tabloids to pervert the peoples thought--all of these are very important and merit advocacy."

Comrade Lin Ruo pointed out: "The cities and rural areas at present are all developing socialist commodity production. In order to develop commodity production, specific and general party policy must be understood, market information must be understood, and technology must be understood and exchanged. Thus, at present, not only do city dwellers need to read the paper but there is a special need for peasants and specialized households to read the paper and they dearly need newspapers. Cadres of all levels, including both leading cadres and basic level cadres, find the use of the newspaper to be a speedy and effective method in guiding their work and promoting production. When cadres of all regions read the newspaper frequently, and study assiduously, their work is relatively good but when they don't read books or newspapers and don't study then it is very difficult to do good work, and if they do something that contravenes policy they have no way of knowing it. The newspaper frequently reports on good experiences and this is helpful to everyone."

Comrade Lin Ruo said: "The masses are urgently pressing to have the newspaper delivered to their homes. The postal and telecommunications departments have done quite a bit of work in this area and have made achievements. However, the developments in the post and telecommunications still cannot accommodate the actual need. In many areas the postal route does not extend to the rural areas and villages. The key lies in setting up and strengthening the carrier network. Persons can take on the duty of delivery in addition to their normal tasks. We must rationally resolve the issue of their remuneration. The post office and carriers must definitely deliver the newspaper and mail to the home."

The reporter had this to say to Comrade Lin Ruo about his report "The experiences of Sanshui County in newspaper distribution work got around to many places before it hit the press. Now many municipalities and counties are paying close attention and stepping up newspaper distribution work."

Comrade Lin Ruo replied: "This is good. I hope that all places in the province will proceed from their actual conditions and make good the distribution work of the NANFANG RIBAO, the GUANGDONG NONGMIN BAO as well as other newspapers and periodicals."

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

PAPER PUBLISHES GUIDELINES FOR BUILDING CPC ORGANS

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Liu Shifeng [0491 0013 7685] of the Xianning city committee organization department: "Democratic Centralism Stressed in Grassroots Party Organizations"]

[Text] Among a number of grassroots units in regions with different trades and occupations, the professional backgrounds of CPC members are more complicated. In order to adjust rationally the structuring of grassroots party organizations, some guiding principles should be laid down.

1. We should adhere to the principle of serving the overall objective. In this sense, it is necessary to proceed from reality and break through the bounds of administrative divisions. The alternative is to set up general party branches in administrative villages where CPC members predominate or establish party branches according to different trades and occupations.
2. We should implement the principle of democratic centralism. In the process of setting up grassroots party organizations at all levels, regardless of enterprises, villages, schools, or party and political organs, not a single CPC member is to be excluded. Leading cadres at all levels, regardless of their rank or responsibility, should take part in grassroots party organizations and consciously place themselves under mass supervision.
3. We should conform to the principle of placing the party under its control. In setting up grassroots party organizations, we should pay attention to the "three separations" requirement such as separating administrative divisions from those of their own units, separating assigned cadres, particularly leading cadres, from those assigned to other departments, and separating one function from another. Only by truly practicing the separation of the party from the government can we guarantee the effective administration and development of the CPC by party organizations.
4. We should uphold the principle of promoting close contacts with the masses. In the course of setting up grassroots party organizations, we should give consideration to the need to keep in close touch with the masses who are outside of the party so that their views and requests can be brought home. Once ideological and political work with the masses is done well, and by placing

CPC members under the direct supervision of the masses, grassroots party organizations will then become the link between the party and the masses.

5. We should adhere to the principle of making administrative levels conform to their scope of functions. Grassroots party organizations comprise three levels, namely, the committee, the general branch committee, and the branch department committee. As far as a single grassroots unit is concerned, what mainly determine its level of administration are work needs and the number of participating CPC members.

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CSO: 4005/353

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

CRITERIA SET FOR CPC SECRETARIES IN ENTERPRISES

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by Wang Yongchang [3769 3057 2490]: "CPC Secretaries in Enterprises Must Have Political Integrity, Professional Knowledge"]

[Text] After enterprises overhaul their leadership systems, what qualifications should CPC secretaries possess? What follows, in my opinion, are some eligibility requirements.

1. They should develop fine political integrity and lofty ideals. What inspired the pending reform of the leadership system of enterprises are, in the first place, traditional concepts and the force of habit. A fine CPC secretary in an enterprise should consciously try to eliminate such outdated concepts as "the CPC Committee takes charge of everything" and "secretaries are in command." They should be outspoken and sincere and cooperate closely and share weal or woe with factory directors, always placing the interests of the state and the people above everything else and subordinating the interests of the part to the whole.

2. They should cultivate a high standard of knowledge. In the first place, one who plays a leading part in planning ideological and political work should be familiar with philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism, as well as have a working knowledge of laws, so that he will be able to understand well the way enterprises are run. He should also be familiar with psychology and know something about the essence of modern aesthetics. When people exert their utmost for the cause of the four modernizations with the object of bringing about a better life for all, he can imbue them with an uplifting force. He can also use his extensive knowledge and accumulated experience to motivate as many cadres and workers as possible, particularly CYL members, and unite them around himself.

As advisors on production management to factory directors, CPC secretaries should also be familiar with production, modern management know-how and engineering and technology. Equipt with a general knowledge of newly developed subjects at home and abroad, they should be prepared to meet new challenges in the technological revolution worldwide.

3. A CPC secretary's keen sense of perception determines his ability to make decisions. While he tries to avoid interfering with the factory director's

decisions, he should still play an active role in making decisions. He should be able to promote the innovative spirit and, when things change, he should stand higher than others and see further than they. In addition, he should be good at proposing new plans and set new goals in light of the new situation, knowing how to motivate workers to carry through those plans and goals.

4. He should be adept in the art of mediation and know how to use both the carrot and the stick. Under the new situation, a CPC secretary is no longer in the position of upholding "what I say counts." Instead, he should be able to put forward his own methods and use his own initiative in doing things, apart from presenting his own views. He should back his suggestions with the force of logic so people (including factory directors) will accept his correct interpretations. At the same time, besides possessing the ability to rally the masses and the spirit of tolerance. A CPC secretary mainly acts as a mediator in handling the working relationship between the party and the government. Flexibly using the art of mediation according to established principles is an important qualification of a CPC secretary.

12661/12859  
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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN MEETING URGES IMPROVED TOWNSHIP RECTIFICATION

HK290427 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Excerpts] According to HENAN RIBAO, the party rectification work office of the Henan Provincial CPC Committee recently held a director's executive meeting, which stressed that it is essential to strengthen leadership over township-level party rectification, give prominence to straightening our party style, and conduct party rectification in greater depth.

The conference held that township-level party rectification is the focal point and key in all grassroots party rectification. It involves training backbone elements for party rectification and laying a good foundation for rectification at village level. All areas must therefore spend some time in providing careful guidance for this work. At present special attention must be paid to the following points:

1. Strengthen the leadership of the county, city, and district CPC committees over township-level rectification.
2. Carry out in-depth education in the party's fundamental program, strengthen people's concept of party spirit, and give prominence to straightening out party style. The main malpractices at township level are mainly those of abusing powers, using loans as a means of pursuing private purposes, randomly imposing fines and charges, randomly consuming and using things, forcing prices down, indulging in extortion, embezzlement, bribery and corruption, riding roughshod over the masses, violating law and discipline, and so on. These problems must be seriously investigated and dealt with in the appropriate way.
3. Seriously clear up the question of a very small number of party members who have committed serious mistakes. We must in particular do a good job in investigating and dealing with certain major cases. The leaders must attach importance to this work and assign sufficient forces to deal with it in light of the circumstances.

Liu Zhengwei, director of the party rectification work office, presided. Deputy Director Zhao Di and other attended.

/8918  
CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN RADIO URGES CURBING SUPERSTITIOUS ACTIVITIES

HK010559 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Mar 86

[*"Sunday Chat": "Curb Feudal and Superstitious Activities"*]

[Text] Recently, feudal and superstitious activities have gained ground in the rural areas. People in some prosperous localities have raised funds for restoring demolished temples rather than undertaking collective welfare services. Many wizards and witches have started their business again. They defraud people of their money and belongings under the pretext of driving out spirits. Their usual activities are telling fortunes by face and palm lines, drawing divination sticks before gods, and so on. They visit every household in many villages, persuading people to worship gods. In other words, they have caused a resurgence of those feudal and superstitious activities which prevailed in the old society.

In the past, many people in China suffered a lot because of feudal and superstitious activities. The reason for this is that they were uneducated and knew nothing about science. When I was young, I heard a joke which I still remember well. The joke says that there was a peasant who always read the almanac before doing everything. His aim was to find the auspicious dates for doing things, even for plowing. One day, he and his son picked an auspicious date from the almanac for building a pigpen. As they were working, a pile of bricks collapsed and his body from the waist down was trapped by the bricks. His son quickly came to rescue him. But he warned his son to find the auspicious date from the almanac for moving away the bricks before saving him.

Though it is just a joke, it shows the poisonous influence of feudal and superstitious thinking on some people. In reality, many people, like this peasant, have suffered a lot because of feudal and superstitious activities. Some young lovers have their marriages prevented just because their horoscopes do not agree. Some people believe in the nonsense talks of wizards and witches when they are sick. Though they suffer from curable diseases, they sometimes needlessly lose their lives. Some people are swindled out of most of their money and belongings because of being superstitious. Some localities dispute with each other over pieces of land that they think carry geomantic omens, thereby becoming foes.

These facts show that feudal and superstitious activities are but a kind of spiritual opium. Whoever believes in them will act recklessly and do things he does not want to do.

Can gods help people get rich? Can wizards and witches help people avoid disasters? Are people's lives and wealth predetermined by gods? Once we think seriously about these issues, we shall understand the situation. In the old society, though people always worshipped gods and worked hard, what they received was insufficient food to eat and clothes to wear. Was it that all of them had bad luck? Since the national liberation, particularly following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, only a few people still worship gods. With the same amount of labor, people can now become more prosperous with each passing day. Is it that all of them have good luck? Thus, we can see that what determines our destiny is not gods but the party's good policies. People now have the status of being masters of the country.

Facts have shown that in order to attain prosperity and dispel disasters, we must rely on the party's policies, sciences, culture, and our hard work rather than depending on gods, wizards, witches, geomantic omens and horoscopes.

In the course of building socialist spiritual civilization, feudal and superstitious activities have greatly undermined our work. Not only have these activities obstructed the development of the productive forces, but they have also adversely affected the people's lives, as well as social order. Therefore, leadership at all levels should always keep a sober mind, and correctly guide the public by means of convincing and educating the people. It is just as the common saying goes: Whoever started the trouble should end it. If we can find swindlers to tell their stories of practicing superstitious tricks, people will quickly understand the facts and will no longer believe in them. If the radio stations frequently report cases in which wizards and witches themselves expose their acts of swindling under the guise of telling fortunes, we shall be more effective in eliminating superstitious activities. Of course, the most important thing is that we should strive to improve the educational background of the nation as a whole. If everyone has knowledge of materialism and some scientific knowledge, there will be no place for feudal and superstitious activities.

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CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGXI IMPROVES MINORITY NATIONALITY WORK

HK300345 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Mar 86

[Excerpts] Our station reporter has learned from the regional Nationalities Affairs Commission director's conference which concluded today that, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party committees and government at all levels in the region have paid attention to putting nationality work on their agenda and have strengthened leadership over it, thus bringing about a brand-new situation in this work.

The region now has 10 nationality autonomous counties and 61 nationality townships. Such counties and townships have now been established for 99 percent of the region's 14.69 million minority-nationality people.

The proportion of minority-nationality cadres has also increased compared with the situation before structural reform. According to October 1984 statistics, the proportion of minority-nationality cadres in the leadership groups of the 48 regional party and government organs increased from 12 percent in 1983 to 27 percent. All the people's congress standing committee chairmen and county governors in the autonomous counties are cadres of the nationality exercising autonomy there. The people's congress standing committee chairmen of 35 of the 43 counties where are relatively large numbers of Zhuangs, and the county governors of 33 of those counties, are Zhuang cadres.

The proportion of minority-nationality students enrolled by the region's institutes of higher education increased from 17 percent in 1978 to 32.9 percent in 1985.

In economic construction, the regional CPC committee and government have spent most of state development funds allocated to undeveloped areas on helping 211 poor townships develop production. This has been done for 3 years in succession.

To strengthen leadership over nationality work, 7 prefectures and 63 counties and cities have established minority affairs commissions.

This year, the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the main tasks of the minority affairs commissions at all levels in the region are: to help minority-nationality areas develop their economy, extricate themselves from

poverty, and get rich; to further develop nationality education and train talented people for the four modernizations in nationality areas; to do a good job in publicizing the law on autonomy for nationality areas; to establish liaison points for supporting poor areas and seriously conduct investigation and study there; and to strive to build a nationality work contingent which serves the minority nationalities wholeheartedly.

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CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG TO DEAL WITH TRAVEL AGENCIES' ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

HK290416 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0353 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Text] Guangzhou, 28 Mar (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--This reporter has learned from the recently-held Guangdong provincial tourism work meeting that, in line with the relevant stipulations of the State Council and the Guangdong Provincial Government, the Guangdong Provincial Tourism Bureau has formulated methods to deal with the illegal business activities of foreign, Hong Kong, and Macao private travel agencies in the province.

According to preliminary investigations by the departments concerned, 20-plus overseas, Hong Kong, and Macao private travel agencies are now operating illegally in Guangzhou. Some have not registered their businesses, some have evaded taxes, and some have engaged in illicit currency dealings and smuggling activities. For example, a Hong Kong travel agency unilaterally organized tours to China and was behind in rents and fares amounting to several million yuan in Guangzhou, Guilin, and Chongqing. Early this year, the boss of the travel agency suddenly went into hiding, bringing about serious losses to the tourism departments in the country.

The regulations promulgated by the Guangdong Provincial Tourism Bureau in line with the "Provisional Regulations Regarding the Management of Travel Agencies" by the State Council and the "Provisional Stipulations on the Management of Travel Agencies" by the provincial government pointed out: Foreign, Hong Kong, and Macao private travel agencies which presumptuously rent rooms in guesthouses, hostels, hotels, or residential houses in Guangdong Province for offices (liaison offices) and privately employ personnel to conduct tourist activities without securing prior arrival or applying to register their businesses will, in addition to exhortations, be instructed to cease their business activities and to apply to register their businesses within the prescribed time (1-3 months); those which fail, or refuse, to go through the registration formalities within the prescribed time will be severely punished by the industrial and commercial administrative department; and those carrying out illegal activities or violating the criminal law will be tried by the judiciary organs.

The regulations also stipulated: With regard to foreign, Hong Kong, and Macao private travel agencies which privately organize touring parties to Guangdong Province and thereby engage in "illegal tourist operations" in a

disguised form, the first offenders will be issued a warning and instructed to provide a written self-criticism and a written pledge; serious offenders will be issued a serious warning and punished by a fine of under 500 yuan; and persistent offenders, who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated education, will, in addition to a heavy fine, be punished by publishing their written criticisms in newspapers or magazines or notifying the "Hong Kong Tourist Association," the "Hong Kong-China Tourist Association," or the "Macao Tourist Association" of their misdeeds in order that they should be dealt with.

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CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HAINAN POLITICAL, LEGAL WORK CONFERENCE ENDS

HK290737 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Excerpts] The Hainan administrative regional conference on political and legal work, which concluded on 26 March, pointed out: It is necessary to continuously and penetratingly crack down on economic crime, to step up the work of investigating and dealing with the big and important cases, to strike at the economic criminals who do great harm and whose cases are serious, and to strive to stamp out economic criminals' arrogance in half a year or so.

Attending this conference were leaders of the Hainan Administrative Region, Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture, and all counties and cities who are in charge of political and legal work, and responsible persons of the political, legal, and judicial offices, procuratorates, and courts, totaling some 200 people. Party-member cadres of departments, committees, offices, and bureaus of regional subordinate organizations, legal, and discipline inspection department attended the conference to listen to the reports. Pan Qiongxiong and Tao Wenhua, Hainan Regional CPC Committee standing committee members, attended the conference.

Our region has known many economic criminal cases, which have involved a large amount of money. Although leaders at all levels have gradually attached importance to investigating and dealing with economic crime and made progress in handling the cases, they are still softhearted and have failed to vigorously crack down on economic crime. We must, therefore, be determined to concentrate our forces, get rid of all obstacles and interference, and to step up investigating and dealing with the major and important cases. We must understand that in cracking down on economic crimes as well as other crimes, it is insufficient to rely on the political, legal, and discipline inspection departments only. The whole party and the whole society must attach importance to this work and go into action. CPC committees at all levels must organize a general war. In cooperation with one another, all functional departments must organically link cracking down on economic crimes with correcting party style, strengthening education in the legal system, and promoting socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUBEI RADIO COMMENTARY ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

HK290637 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Mar 86

[Station Commentary: "Really Strengthen Leadership over Party Rectification in Districts and Townships in Rural Areas"]

[Excerpts] Since the beginning of this spring, our province has started party rectification in an all-round way in districts and townships in rural areas. Some 300,000 party members in all districts and townships throughout the province have taken part in party rectification this time. Party organizations of the cities, prefectures, and counties have sent approximately 8,000 liaison workers and inspectors to all places to help them with party rectification work. A good start in party rectification in districts and townships has been made.

Doing a good job in party rectification is of extremely important significance for promoting the building of rural material and spiritual civilizations and a fundamental turn for the better in party style and the general mood of society. Therefore, party organizations of all places must understand that party rectification will promote the economy and reform. Some people lack confidence in doing well in party rectification in rural areas this time. This problem must be solved.

We must see that the problems of impure ideology, impure organization, and impure work style now exist among rural party organizations and party members. In particular, the problem of incorrect party style is still very serious. However, on the whole, the great majority of party organizations and party members are good or relatively good. In the course of party rectification, so long as we really strengthen leadership, resolutely implement the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee, and fully trust and rely on the enthusiasm of the party members and party member cadres, we can completely rely on our own strength to overcome and solve these problems.

Party leading cadres at all levels must remove all ideological obstacles and vigorously take part in and lead party rectification. They must really reinforce the leadership forces and establish the system of responsibility for party rectification. In particular, the county CPC committee secretaries must personally grasp this work so as to guarantee the smooth completion of the tasks of party rectification.

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CSO: 4005/575

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

COMMENTARY URGES UNITS NOT TO TAKE TEACHERS FROM SCHOOLS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] Recently some localities have reported that the outflow of teachers to other units is still alarming. This situation must command our utmost attention.

To run schools we cannot do without budgets or facilities, yet most of all we must have a qualified and stable contingent of teachers. To cultivate talent, we must first have a large group of talented teachers who can themselves cultivate talent. Currently the main problem in education faced by our province is insufficiency both in quality and quantity of teachers. According to projections of concerned departments, the implementation of 9 years of compulsory education in our province will require a supplement of more than 53,000 junior high school teachers, while to develop middle vocational and technical education would require an increase of more than 23,000 new teachers. Such is our outlook in the long run. Even right now the teacher resources are insufficient in many primary and middle schools. Under such circumstances, with the luring of talent away from the educational system, not only will we fail to attain the long term planning and development of education, but the current tasks of education will also be seriously affected. Some places have already reported interruption of the teaching of certain courses in some primary and middle schools due to the draining of many qualified teachers.

As we understand it, many places use the excuse of recruiting talent to "lure" people away from the teacher ranks. They say something like, "I am recruiting talent. This is reform. What's wrong with that?" The true reform must of course be supported. But to "lure" teachers away from primary and middle schools is in no way reform. Instead, it is creating chaos and affecting the whole picture of cultivating talent and the smooth progress of reform. Provincial departments concerned have also clearly stipulated that teachers of primary and middle schools are not recruitment targets. Therefore, every locality must seriously enforce the related stipulation and sort out the teachers who were transferred away since last year. In principle, all qualified teachers transferred to other non-teaching posts will be mobilized to return to work in their schools, and no departments can hinder the process. From now on, responsibility will be affixed on anyone who takes it upon himself without the consent of educational departments to "lure" teachers away.

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CSO: 4005/142

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

TRANSFERRING TEACHERS TO NONTEACHING POSTS PROHIBITED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 85 p 1

[Reported by Shen Yimi [3088 0122 1348]: "Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee and Government Offices Issue Circular to Prohibit Transferring Teachers to Non-Teaching Posts"]

[Text] In view of the phenomena--of some localities and units arbitrarily transferring teachers from primary, middle and normal schools to other posts, recruiting teachers wildly, and undermining teachers ranks, the general offices of the Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial Government recently issued a "circular on prohibiting the transferring of teachers to non-teaching posts." This is an important measure taken by the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government to put into effect the "CPC Central Committee's Resolution on Educational System Reform."

According to the circular, in recent years some localities and units in our province have ignored the regulations from central and provincial authorities which prohibit the transferring of primary and middle school teachers to other posts and the recruiting of talent from among primary, middle and normal school teachers. They transfer teachers to non-teaching posts without the approval of the education department. Some have even used high wages, good benefits and even the "several withouts" (i.e., transfer without the need of organization credentials, wage credentials, and household food credentials) to lure away teachers, destabilizing the teaching contingent and seriously influencing the normal operation of school teaching.

Therefore, the Provincial CPC Committee and Government have stipulated the following: 1) Transferring teachers to other posts, including recruiting teachers to teach elsewhere, is strictly prohibited. From now on, when any violation occurs, the leading cadres of the units concerned will be affixed the responsibility. 2) A comprehensive investigation of the conditions of primary, middle and normal school teacher transfers since 1984 will be conducted. In principle, those teachers recruited without the approval of an education department higher than county level should be sent back to their original school posts. Those transferred off the teaching front with the approval of an education department higher than county level will also be mobilized to return to their school posts except the ones assigned to leading groups higher than county-level and the ones who really cannot deal with

education. Current employment units are responsible for the ideological work on these returning teachers and cannot continue to employ them. The check-up will be conducted under the leadership of every county (city) CPC committee and government and undertaken by the Organization Department, Personnel Bureau and Education Bureau of the provincial (city) committee. This task must be concluded before the beginning of the next term in a written report to the Organization Department of the Provincial CPC Committee, and the Provincial Personnel and Education Bureaus. 3) In order to guarantee the supply of teachers graduates of teachers colleges, specialized teachers training schools and secondary teachers training schools should be assigned a school in which to teach. Interception by various other levels or assignment to non-teaching posts will not be permitted. Any violation should be investigated and the responsibility determined. 4) The management of teachers ranks should be further reinforced. From now on, both primary and middle school teachers will be under the administration of various educational departments. The transfer of teachers must be investigated by and have the consent of educational administrative departments above the county level. 5) Party policy on intellectuals should be further implemented, and teachers' salaries and political status raised. This is the key issue in reassuring the ranks of teachers and mobilizing teachers' initiatives. CPC committees and governments of all localities must take positive measures to improve the working and living conditions for teachers. At the same time they must strengthen ideological work on teachers in order to raise their sense of honor and responsibility and cultivate passion for educational undertakings.

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CSO: 4005/142

## JAPANESE BEAN CURD PACKAGING MACHINE IMPORTATION CRITICIZED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 85 p 4

[Article by: He Zhi [0149 5365]: "A Fantastic Bean Curd Story"]

[Excerpt] Bean curd passed from China to Japan, everyone knows this.

Perhaps it's true that the world really goes around and around. Who would have imagined in the 1880's that one day bean curd would actually find its way back to China disguised in Japanese packaging? This again is truly astonishing. This astonishing story has its beginnings in a Shanghai bean curd products production plant. This plant introduced a Japanese production assembly line for bagging bean curd which cost them about 1,600,000 Renminbi worth of foreign exchange. This was truly a waste. In China, whoever doesn't know how to manufacture bean curd simply spends a huge chunk of foreign exchange and introduces whatever bean curd production assembly lines they need. This is truly a case of both forgetting one's origins and of being sycophantic and obsequious. Now there are people who put blind faith in things foreign, all things foreign are considered to be better. The foreign moon is rounder, this is nothing new, but nowadays some people seem to be carrying it a step further and feel that the foreign moon is even rounder than ever.

In fact, they would consider a foreigner's wind to be fragrant. We are not being xenophobic, if there is something to be studied from someone else we must study it and if something should be introduced, we must introduce it. We know full well that foreign exchange is hard to come by but we persist in not spending it on the things we should and spending it lavishly on things we shouldn't. Or is this merely an exceptional instance?

Thus, the luck of the Japanese bean curd isn't all that good. This is clearly a striking blow to those blind importers. First of all, foreign goods are expensive; a block of Japanese bean curd costs almost as much as a brick of ice cream. Secondly, bagged bean curd changes back to its original shape overnight and becomes runny. We can see that the foreign moon really isn't as round as China's. What is pitiful about all of this is that we are losing all of our foreign exchange.

If we don't eliminate this dependency and obsequiousness, who is to say that in the future we won't be importing assembly lines for producing bean curd

milk or bean curd paste? And what consequences would this have on the four modernizations?

This astonishing story must be called to a halt immediately. By all means it mustn't be allowed to continue.

13072/12955  
CSO: 4005/340

## BRIEFS

YOUNGER, EDUCATED WOMEN CADRES ENCOURAGED--A contingent of young and cultured women cadres is active in Wuhan's women's federations at all levels. Thus far, 58 percent of a total of 507 full-time women cadres in the city's street and neighborhood organizations are equipped with cultural standards above the senior middle school level, with 80 percent of them below the age of 45. Of the 67 cadres assigned to the Wuhan municipal women's federation, 49 of them are of the college level and are taking undergraduate courses at various universities. To conform to the new task of women's work and to raise the qualifications of women cadres, the Wuhan municipal women's federation on the one hand encourages women cadres to study advanced and specialized courses while on the other hand it is recruiting young and capable women with culture to become full-time women cadres in the prefectoral and neighborhood committees. [Text] [Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 85 p 2] 12661/12859

DOCTORATE DEGREES AWARDED--Guangzhou, April 1 (XINHUA)--China's Zhongshan University has graduated its first batch of doctors of science degrees since degree programs were restored in China in 1978. Doctorates were awarded today to four students who majored in theoretical physics, optics and botany, respectively. Among them, Yie Chuangxing was the first to be granted a doctorate in systematic botany in China. At the moment, 39 students are studying for their doctor's degrees. The university's four specialty courses--optics, botany, entomology and zoology--are qualified by the state to enroll post-doctorate researchers. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1459 GMT 1 Apr 86 OW] /8918

XIE FEI SPEAKS AT RALLY--This morning, at a rally of the organs directly under the provincial CPC Committee to commend the building of socialist spiritual civilization, Xie Fei, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC Committee, pointed out: The organs under the provincial CPC Committee must set an example in the course of building spiritual civilization and established good prevailing customs. Since last year, all units of the organs directly under the provincial CPC Committee have strengthened the building of spiritual civilization and scored relatively good achievements. Their party style and work style have further improved. A large number of advanced collectives and activists have emerged. Of them, 40 units and 189 comrades have been assessed as advanced collectives and activists of the provincial subordinate organs in building spiritual civilization. In his speech at today's commendatory rally, Comrade Xie Fei put forward several views on how the organs of the provincial CPC Committee should do well in building spiritual civilization: 1) It is essential to establish good prevailing customs. 2) It is essential to raise working efficiency. 3) It is essential to enhance the quality of the cadres. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Mar 86 HK] /8918

NORTH REGION

HEBEI ESTABLISHES FOUR COUNTY-LEVEL CITIES

SK310405 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] With the approval of the State Council, four county-level cities, including Dingzhou, Xinji, Nangong, and Renqiu cities, were established in Hebei Province on 5 March 1986.

1. Ding County was abolished and Dingzhou City was established. The original administrative area of Ding County is the present administrative area of Dingzhou City and it is under the leadership of the Baoding Prefectural Administrative Office.
2. Shulu County was abolished and Xinji City was established. The original Shulu County's administrative area is the present administrative area of Xinji City. It is under the leadership of the Shijiazhuang Prefectural Administrative Office.
3. Nangong County was abolished and Nongong City was established. The original administrative area of Nangong County is now the administrative area of Nangong City. It is under the leadership of the Xingtai Prefectural Administrative Office.
4. Renqiu County was abolished and Renqiu City was established. The original Renqiu County's administrative area is now the administrative area of Renqiu City. It is under the leadership of the Cangzhou Prefectural Administrative Office.

At present, these cities are vigorously carrying out various tasks after their establishment.

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CSO: 4005/584

NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL COMMENTARY STRESSES DEEPENING OF REFORM

SK290702 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Mar 86

[Station commentary: "It Is the Deepening, Not the Termination, of the Reform"]

[Text] In line with the principle of the central authorities, our region is now consolidating, digesting, supplementing, and improving the achievements already scored in economic structural reform, and is preparing to make reforms in the future a still greater success. As a positive principle, the eight-character principle of the central authorities is the deepening and the development of reform. Some comrades, however, possess some confused ideas about such a principle that bears on the whole situation of reform. For instance, some comrades maintain that it is because we have met with many difficult problems in reform that we have introduced the eight-character principle, and therefore it is the right time to stop carrying out reform. Obviously, this idea is wrong. As everyone knows, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have first carried out reform in the rural areas, and then spread it comprehensively, thus achieving tremendous results in the initial stage of reform.

Thanks to reform, our national economy as a whole has developed in a sustained, stable, and rapid manner; the relationship between the major economic sectors have remained basically proportionate; economic efficiency has been raised; great headway has been made in the scientific, technological, and educational undertakings; the people's living standards have improved in general; and the growth of the national economy has gained momentum. Practice proves that reform is the only way to invigorate our country, and the prospects of our socialist modernization cause lies in reform. Because reform accords with the will of the people and the general trend of events, we should by no means stop carrying it out.

Reform is a huge and complicated project involving all of society, as well as an unprecedented and great social experiment. Therefore, we must brave our way forward through practice. It is impossible for us not to make any mistakes in reform. We must make a concrete analysis of the mistakes in reform. First, by no means should we attribute all the problems which have nothing to do with reform, to reform itself. Second, we should accurately understand the nature of problems and draw a distinction between essential

problems and nonessential ones. We should never regard all situations wrong while finding one mistake, and still less lump together right and wrong. Third, we should explicitly understand that the problems of reform emerge in the course of reform, and thus can be solved only through reform. It is a one-sided and groundless practice to place undue emphasis on difficulties and problems emerging in reform and then take a skeptical attitude on reform. In carrying out reform, we have always sought truth from facts, adopted a prudent policy, acted according to our capability, and solved problems once they have been discovered. The principle of consolidation, digestion, supplement, and improvement has been set forth on the basis of this guiding ideology. With this principle, we can conduct the necessary summing-ups and revisions, consolidate the achievements already scored, and win a new and still big victory.

Implementation of the eight-character principle never means that stagnation of reform, still less their termination. We should strengthen our confidence in reform, should comprehensively and accurately understand and actively implement the principle of consolidation, digestion, supplementation and improvement, should deepen reform, and should push reform in a stable and down-to-earth manner.

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CSO: 4005/584

NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS FEDERATION HOLDS MEETING

SK300358 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Mar 86

[Excerpts] The third enlarged meeting of the first board of directors under the regional federation of Taiwan compatriots was held in Hohhot recently. The meeting reviewed and summed up the work done in 1985 and set forth the main points of the work for this year.

Participants held: Last year, the federation did a lot of work and scored gratifying achievements in encouraging Taiwan compatriots to do their jobs well and to make contributions to the four modernizations and the reunification of the motherland. Under the leadership of the party and with the concerns of the party, the federation investigated, in detail, working and living conditions of the Taiwan compatriots and the situation of arrangements for their children. In accordance with the plan made by the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots, the regional federation strengthened the work of cultivating young Taiwan compatriots and successfully upgraded their political and educational levels.

Last year, the regional federation of Taiwan compatriots also cordially received Taiwan compatriots who came to the region to visit relatives, go sightseeing, and hold trade talks, and initiatively made contributions to the four modernizations of the motherland and Nei Monggol's economic prosperity.

The meeting defined: In 1986, the regional federation of Taiwan compatriots should better study and implement the guidelines of the National Conference of CPC Delegates and the regional meeting of banner and county CPC Committee secretaries, enthusiastically conduct the reform of the economic system with a focus on the urban economy, conduct investigation and studies to achieve the unity work, make good arrangements for the retired Taiwan compatriots, further achieve the propaganda work, expand friendship ties, and strive to maintain the regular people-to-people exchange.

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CSO: 4005/584

NORTH REGION

SHANXI RURAL AREAS ENCOURAGED BY CENTRAL DOCUMENT

HK020245 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Excerpts] Under the leadership of the party committees and government at all levels, all parts of the province are seriously implementing this year's central document no. 1. The production enthusiasm of the peasant masses has surged up and a new momentum of development has appeared in the rural areas.

Yanbei Prefecture has quadrupled its investment in agriculture compared with last year. Many places have reduced or waived agricultural taxes, lightened the peasants' burdens, and spent on agricultural production the agricultural tax and the tax on bonuses in township enterprises. The provincial and prefectural credit systems have arranged loans for agriculture and the township enterprises and also provided financial subsidies for small chemical fertilizer plants. As a result, prices of fertilizer produced in these plants have dropped.

The province will grow a greater proportion of grain crops in its overall crop pattern this year. Among the grain crops, the sown area of wheat and maize has been increased the most.

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CSO: 4005/584

TAIWAN

TAIWANESE IN BRAZIL PRISON ADMITS KILLING HENRY LIU

HK040840 Hong Kong AFP in English 0727 GMT 4 Apr 86

[Text] Taipei, April 4 (AFP)--A Taiwanese national has admitted that he shot Chinese American writer Henry Liu, but denied that he was acting as an intelligence agent for the Taiwan Government, a newspaper said here Friday.

Tung Kuei-sen, 33 is currently in prison in Brazil while a court hears a U.S. application for his extradition in connection with the October 1984 murder in California.

He told the mass-circulation UNITED DAILY news in a telephone interview from his Rio de Janeiro prison cell that he was a member of the bamboo union, Taiwan's largest underground syndicate, and that he did take part in the Liu killing.

Mr Liu, a writer critical of the Taipei government, was gunned down by three Taiwan gang members at his California home.

"I shot at his abdomen twice and left after he fell," Mr Tung was quoted as saying, but he denied reports that he had admitted that he was acting as a Taiwan intelligence agent.

This might have been caused by "misinterpretation at court," Mr Tung said, adding that the killing was "my personal behavior."

"It has nothing to do with my country or my family," he added.

A Taiwan court in July found Chen Chi-li, the 42-year-old reputed leader of the bamboo union guilty of plotting the murder of his lieutenant Wu Tun, 35, guilty of killing the writer. Both were jailed for life.

Three Taiwan intelligence officials were also implicated and sentenced to terms ranging from two and a half years to life.

Mr Tung was arrested by Brazilian police in Rio de Janeiro in September at the request of the U.S. Government. He admitted to taking part in the killings during an extradition hearing last week, the news quoted him as saying. He told the newspaper that he had asked to be sent back to Taiwan in the first hearing 2 weeks ago, but had got no response.

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CSO: 4000/213

TAIWAN

TAIWAN-JAPAN SEMINAR ON MAINLAND AFFAIRS OPENS

OW070315 Taipei CNA in English 0247 GMT 7 Apr 86

[Text] Taipei, April 6 (CNA)--The failure of the Chinese Communist Economic System which was based on Marxism and the thoughts of Mao Tze-tung, has caused poverty and backwardness on the China mainland over the past several decades, Mah Soo-lay, secretary general of the Kuomintang Central Committee, said Sunday.

The "Economic Reforms" on the mainland will be totally in vain if the Peiping regime cannot reform the basic communist system, he said.

Mah made the remarks while addressing the opening ceremony of the 3-day 13th Sino-Japanese seminar on China mainland affairs held at National Chengchi University.

The people on the mainland have lost all their interest in communist doctrine, he said. And the large unemployment on the mainland has resulted in increasing crime and gambling there, he added.

More than 90 Japanese and Chinese scholars and specialists attending the meeting will hold seven panel discussions on the Chinese communist reforms and Peiping "open door" policy and their prospects. The attenders delivered 12 reports.

Japanese scholar Kuwabara Toshiji, who heads the Japanese delegation, also spoke. He said the communist regime's role in the past was that of an adverse current in China history; in the present, it is in a position full of internal dangers; and in the future, it is a role to collapse.

It would be a great honor to the Japanese academia circle if they can contribute anything in support of the Republic of China's anti-communist mission, he said.

The Japanese delegates will proceed to central and southern Taiwan for visits after the meeting. They will leave April 11.

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TAIWAN

BRIEFS

COMPUTERIZED SYSTEM ESTABLISHED--Taipei, April 3 (CNA)--The National Defense Ministry of the Republic of China has established a computerized data processing system to facilitate the mobilization of the reservists, Vice National Defense Minister Chang Kuo-yong said Thursday. The new system, which took 10 years to complete, will make the mobilization work more efficient and help enhance the national defense force, Chang said at a meeting of the National Defense Committee of the Legislative Yuan. Chang said there are more than three million reservists in this country. They constitute the mainstay of the nation's armed forces in time of war and contribute greatly to social stability and national reconstruction in time of peace, he added. [Text] [Taipei CNA in English 1424 GMT 3 Apr 86 OW] /8918

NEW VICE DEFENSE MINISTER--Taipei, April 3 (CNA)--The Executive Yuan Thursday approved the appointment of Gen Ma Hsu-yuan, deputy commander of the Kinmen [quemoy] Defense Command, as vice defense minister. Ma replaces Gen Yu Yen-shen, who will soon retire from the military. Ma, 56, of Kansu, is a graduate of the Military Academy and the Armed Forces Staff College. He had held various leadership posts in the military before assuming his current post. [Text] [Taipei CNA in English 1010 GMT 3 Apr 85 OW] /8918

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